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# ***JPRS Report***

# **China**

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***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***  
***No 18, 16 September 1989***

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**The Theoretical Basis Guiding Our Thinking Is Marxism-Leninism—Refuting the Fallacy Cherished by Bourgeois Liberals That Negate Marxism-Leninism**

HK1710053089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 89 pp 2-9

[Article by Zhang Zhen 1728 7201, president of Defense University]

[Text] Thirty-five years ago, in his opening address at the first session of the National People's Congress of our republic, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly pointed out: "The central force leading our cause is the Chinese Communist Party, and the theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." These aphoristic-like remarks are at once the summation of our experience of several decades of revolution, and basic guidelines for our future work in every field. The CPC and the Chinese people, who always bear in mind this basic experience, uphold Marxism-Leninism in socialist construction, reform, and opening up to the outside world, and continue to blaze new trails and forge ahead.

However, as a result of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization having spread unchecked, Marxism-Leninism was so grossly denounced and attacked in the last few years that some people are doubtful as to whether it remains a theoretical basis guiding our thinking. Therefore, an important task confronting us is to refute all kinds of fallacies on this basic issue advocated by bourgeois liberals, and straighten things out in theory.

**I. Marxism-Leninism Is the Banner of Our Age—Refuting the So-Called "Marxism-Leninism Is Outdated" Theory**

The "Marxism-Leninism is outdated" theory is an excuse bourgeois liberals frequently use to negate Marxism-Leninism. Taking advantage of the change in human history over the last several decades, they arbitrarily assert: "Marxism belongs to a bygone cultural period. It is like worn-out clothes and must be taken off." Does this assertion tally with facts?

As is known to all, Marxism-Leninism was a revolutionary theory which logically emerged in the course of the struggle between the international working class and the international bourgeoisie as human history entered the 19th century.

Marx and Engels, after summing up the experiences of the international working class in their struggle for liberation, critically assimilated man's excellent fruits of thinking, and coordinated the social sciences with the basis of materialism, and founded on this basis—which he had in turn reformed—historical materialism, which has an epoch-making significance in the history of science. Where bourgeois scholars identified only man's motives, they discovered historical factors; also where bourgeois scholars saw only individual historical events,

they found the historical law that ran through all historical events. They revealed in a scientific way that the production mode of material life determines the process of social, political, and cultural life; the social productive forces are the final decisive forces for historical development, thereby placing research on man's history on a scientific basis for the first time and regarding history as a unified process, which is complicated and full of contradictions on the one hand, and exhibits, however, regularity on the other, so that man gained a distinct clue in understanding the most confused field among his areas of knowledge.

Marx and Engels, armed with historical materialism, dissected the capitalist society in which they were living, and discovered that the secret of the exploitation of workers by capitalists was hidden in the creation of surplus value. The use value of the labor force as a special commodity has in itself the unique property of becoming the source of value. After "equal" commodity exchange, the commodity will, in the process of use and apart from creating value of its own, create an extra value; this extra value is called surplus value. The discovery of surplus value was a revolution in political economics; it ushered sunlight into a field in which classical political economists had been groping in the dark for a long time; and the uncompromising contradiction between the capitalist and working classes was immediately laid bare.

The founding of historical materialism and the theory of surplus value caused utopian socialism to become scientific socialism. Lenin said: "Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society to be wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society."<sup>1</sup> The new socialist revolution, during which "the exploiters are deprived of their right to exploit others," is inevitable because the basic interests of the capitalist and working classes are diametrically opposed, the root causes of which are the capitalist private ownership and the wage-labor system, and because the capitalist economic system has become a shackle seriously hampering the expansion of the productive forces, and capitalism has prepared the necessary material conditions and class forces.

Therefore, what Marx revealed is the general trend and general law of this great era during which capitalism is to develop into socialism and communism. As long as this great era does not end, Marxism remains the theoretical banner indicating the development of this era. Because its basic interests are identical to the general trend and law of our age, the proletariat becomes the leading class of our era and its historical mission, a great mission that the times have entrusted to it, is to abolish capitalism and build socialism and communism. Marxism is the theory reflecting the proletariat's basic interests, and also the theory of the proletariat's great historical mission; therefore, as long as the proletariat exists and its historical mission remains unaccomplished, it will hold high the Marxist banner and forge ahead.

True, it is more than 100 years since Marxism was born. During this period, especially following World War I, a major change has taken place in the world, and many new circumstances and problems have arisen, such as the relative stability and prosperity enjoyed by capitalist society, and the mistakes, lapses, and tortuous path suffered or traveled by socialist countries. But all this has not changed the basic contradiction, essential content, and trend of this era as a whole, and it represents only a minor aspect of the whole situation. The basic contradiction, essential content, and trend of this great era, during which capitalism is to go over to capitalism and communism, are relatively stable. This is the historical reason why we uphold the basic theory of Marxism, while the constant change in the world situation within the frame of the aforementioned relative stability sets forth an historical demand that Marxism should be developed. Marxism's vitality lies in its ability to develop with changes in reality, and this is also the inner reason for Marxism becoming the banner of our era. Comrade Mao Zedong had a brilliant exposition on the process of the development of a thing: "The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction, will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intense as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined or influenced by the fundamental contradiction, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages."<sup>2</sup> The cognitive mistakes of those who maintain that Marxism is outdated lie in the fact that they simply do not understand the Marxist theory of the process of development.

For Marxists, the relative prosperity found in capitalist countries in the last score of years was brought about under particular historical conditions, and had something to do with the reformist measures widely taken by capitalist countries following World War II, the breakthroughs in science and technology over the last several decades, and their exploitation of Third World countries. It has not, however, changed the essence nor removed the inherent contradiction in the capitalist system. Capitalism remains capitalism, and the relationship between capitalists and workers remains that between exploiters and the exploited. With the change in the industrial structure, there has been a corresponding change in the ranks of the working class. The number of "white-collar" workers has increased, but "white-collar" and "blue-collar" workers have one thing in common: They are exploited by capitalists. Surplus value remains the value in excess of the value for the labor force on the part of the workers, including "white-collar" workers.

Workers' wages have increased by a comparatively wide margin, but this indicates only that there has been a change in conditions and expenses for reproduction of labor-power, which was brought about by the development of capitalist societies, rather than a change in the relationship between exploiters and the exploited. Relative prosperity is accompanied by intensive social contradictions. Capitalist countries have been caught in economic stagflation, which they are unlikely to shake off, reduced growth in productivity, serious unemployment, incessant strikes, increasing crimes, and maneuvers to outmatch one another in international monopoly-capitalist groups. This is a fact that nobody, including representatives of the capitalist class, can deny. Although revolution does not seem to break out in capitalist countries at present, what merits attention is that workers' political parties in a number of developed countries are probing, in light of new conditions, a new path to liberate the working class. Living in developed capitalist countries, they do not believe that capitalism has entered a new stage in which there is no class struggle; on the contrary, they maintain that capitalist society is still a society that is ugly and fraught with contradictions, and it is necessary to reform it through revolution following Marxist guidelines.

In the eyes of Marxists, the setbacks, mistakes, and the resultant reform experienced in practicing socialism do not prove that Marxism-Leninism is "outdated," but, on the contrary, prove that Marxism-Leninism is the objective truth to which we can not run counter. For the time being let us not talk about the long-term, tortuous, and repeated struggles involved when one social formation replaces another, or about the most profound social reform in human history, that is, the replacement of capitalism by socialism, and, instead, deal exclusively with the setbacks and mistakes. It was not because we upheld a number of scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, but because we ran counter to them, that we met with setbacks and made mistakes. All socialist countries set up a rigid economic system by following the same formula in carrying out economic construction. This was not because they adhered to, but because they went against, the instructions repeatedly emphasized by Marx, Engels, and Lenin that it is necessary to embark on the socialist path in line with national characteristics. Leaders in some socialist countries were interested in personality cults and sabotaged socialist democracy and the legal system. This also was not because they abided by, but because they did not heed the Marxist-Leninist historical materialist viewpoint on the relationship among leaders, political parties, classes, and the masses. Being impatient for quick results, we made a rash advance, and went full steam ahead with the "great leap forward" drive. This was again because they went against rather than follow the Marxist-Leninist theory of seeking truth from facts and respecting objective laws. At present, many socialist countries are carrying out reform after summing up their experiences and lessons. Reform represents the self-perfection and self-development of

the socialist system under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. The historic turn effected 10 years ago in China was achieved under the guidance of the principle of seeking truth from facts, which was advocated by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The great achievements China scored in the decade-long construction, reform, and opening up to the outside world are a great victory for Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Facts have convincingly proved that Marxism-Leninism is a victorious banner leading us forward.

In short, the current world is developing along the general course chartered by Marxism-Leninism, and Marxism-Leninism remains the worthy banner of our era. This is not only a consensus reached by Marxists worldwide, but also a solemn conclusion arrived at by Western scholars. American scholar Robert Haier-bu-long-na [3189 1422 1580 7127 4780] pointed out in 1980: "Marx's works that brought forth Marxism have actually been able to remain so powerful, a fascination after more than a century, why?... Because Marx invented a method for social analysis, a method that has a keen insight into matters. This enabled him to become a unique person in social theory throughout human history. Whoever tries to probe the hidden motive force for social development or engage in social criticism must learn from Marx."

## II. The Victory of China's Revolution Is a Victory for Marxism-Leninism—Refuting the "Marxism-Leninism Is Harmful" Theory

Those who stubbornly preach bourgeois liberalization also argue that Marxism-Leninism is "harmful." They claim that "Marxism-Leninism is in no way suited to China's actual conditions." They say it has been "distorted" since it was transmitted to China, and this "distorted Marxism-Leninism" is the "root cause" of China's long, drawn-out backwardness.

This is a blasphemy against the truth, and a misrepresentation of history. China's modern history of more than 100 years, the history of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle for years under the CPC, and the history of how the Chinese nation changed from a weak country into a powerful one, are diametrically opposed to this counterrevolutionary fallacy.

In China's modern history, numerous revolutionaries who cherished lofty ideals but who were also as innocent and simple as newborn babes, witnessed that the country was "beneath an upturned house, or in a leaking boat," and went to foreign countries in search of principles to save the nation and the people. But what have they achieved?

Hong Xiuquan, by integrating some ingredients of Western Christian religion with the Chinese peasants' demand for revolution in the 19th century, set up the "Worship God Association," and built the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, where he fancifully hoped "everybody will share the farmland, food, clothes, and property, and everybody will be treated alike and have

enough to eat and wear." But the mighty peasant revolutionary movement under his leadership proved a failure. Western Christianity could no more save China than small-peasant egalitarianism. This is a historical conclusion.

People with lofty ideals who initiated the reform movement of 1898, introduced evolutionism from the West, and hoped that the "enlightened emperor" would pursue a new policy from above to below, "seeking talented people and promoting outstanding ones, looking around carefully and broadening the scope of selection, and trying to understand what the grassroots think, and pull their efforts." They even looked in vain to a number of imperialist countries for support in carrying out the political reform aimed at building a powerful country. Hardly had the reform movement begun when it was strangled in the cradle by feudal diehards and imperialists. Vulgar evolutionism failed to save China, along with the "enlightened emperor" or "support" from imperialist countries. This is also a historical conclusion.

The bourgeois revolutionaries headed by Sun Yat-sen put forward a bourgeois democratic revolutionary program—which former reformists failed to offer—revolutionary ideals, and set up a revolutionary organization to save China. They brought to China the Western bourgeois "theory of natural rights" and the program for establishing a bourgeois republic, sounded the "womankind" bell, and organized a "revolutionary army" in a determined effort to wipe out feudalism and found a people's state, and effected equalization of landownership. But they also failed to save China after several decades of struggle and tremendous sacrifices. The revolution of 1911 put an end to the feudal monarchy which had lasted for over 2,000 years, and enabled the idea of a democratic republic to take root in the hearts of the people, but China was still a semifeudal, semicolonial country. The "theory of natural rights" again failed to save China, as did the program to build a bourgeois republic. This is another historical conclusion.

What was the way out?

"The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." From then on, the face of the Chinese revolution took on a new aspect.

The spreading of Marxism-Leninism into China and its integration with the Chinese labor movement gave birth to the CPC. From then on, the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle was carried out under the leadership of an advanced political party which had the guidance of scientific theory, represented the interest of the working class and the whole people, and was well organized and highly disciplined. It put an end to the situation of previous periods when the revolutionary masses had no political party or the political party failed to represent the people's interests, was divided over political views, and was lax in organization.

It was after Marxism-Leninism was brought into China that the people got a scientific world outlook and methodology for studying the destiny of the state. Armed with Marxism-Leninism, the CPC, after analyzing China's situation against its historical background, class relations, and the international environment in which it found itself, worked out an anti-imperialist, antifeudalist democratic revolution program, solving a series of fundamental problems, including the targets, mission, motive force, nature, and steps of the Chinese revolution. The CPC also succeeded in building a broad united front, grouping the working class, peasantry, urban petit bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie, achieving the most powerful political unity in Chinese history.

It was not until Marxism-Leninism was brought into China that the Chinese people understood that both "weapons for criticism" and "criticism of weapons" were indispensable. It was necessary to build a brand-new people's army which maintained flesh-and-blood ties to the people to win a victory for the revolution. It was impossible to build an independent state and for the people to achieve emancipation without such a people's army. The Chinese people had to wage a protracted armed struggle in making revolution; this was the characteristic as well as the strong point of the Chinese revolution. There was no other way out.

It was after Marxism-Leninism was introduced into China that the people's revolutionary struggle was able to go from victory to victory, finally overthrowing imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, which weighed like mountains on the backs of Chinese people; founding the People's Republic of China, of which the people are masters; and putting an end to a bitter history of more than 100 years. China's economy and culture made unprecedented great strides under extremely backward and difficult conditions. Not until then was the Chinese nation able to rank itself as a member of the world among other nations. China really had a say in matters of international concern, the Chinese were able to straighten their backs and felt proud and elated, and tens of millions of Overseas Chinese felt it an honor to be Chinese.

This is the truth that our history has revealed to us. It was not Marxism-Leninism that "did China harm"; it was Marxism-Leninism alone that could save China.

The great historical role of Marxism-Leninism found expression in the form of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought was the outcome of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and was also the application of Marxism-Leninism to, and its development under, China's conditions. Mao Zedong Thought was Marxism-Leninism with Chinese style. The fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism are the unity of theory and reality, which is its lifeline. If it was only Marxism-Leninism, among the fruits of man's thought, that could save China, then after Marxism-Leninism was brought into China, it was only Mao Zedong Thought, which was

characterized by its integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, that could save China.

Old China was a large, semifeudal, semicolonial country in the East; making revolution in such a country was bound to incur many special and complicated problems. It was of no avail to recite the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism or copy foreign experience. It was in vogue for a time after the party had led the people to make revolution for Marxism-Leninism to be regarded as a dogma, and the resolutions adopted by the Communist International and the Soviet Union's experience to be regarded as absolutely correct. These erroneous tendencies caused enormous losses to the revolutionary cause. Resolving to eradicate dogmatism, and proceeding from China's unique conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong studied deeply the features and laws of the Chinese revolution and enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism on a series of problems, such as the program and political line, the building of the people's army, policies and strategies, party building, ideological, political, and cultural work, socialist transformation and construction, and other things for the democratic revolution. Thus he developed fundamental points of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, of which the basis and soul are: Seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, that is, sticking to a thoroughgoing materialist ideological line and proceeding in all cases from reality; serving the people heart and soul, thinking of the people and relying on them in everything, and consulting with the masses when working out policies and then relying on the masses to implement the policies; adhering to the principle of building up the country through self-reliance, plain living, and persistent hard work. All these were embodied with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and methods, and adequately showed that Marxism-Leninism was a practical and revolutionary theory and represented the interests of the proletariat. At the same time, these could be regarded as Marxism-Leninism with Chinese characteristics, and living Marxism-Leninism applicable to China. Can we say that the theory which guided the Chinese revolution to victory is "harmful"? Can we say that these ideas embodying the mass viewpoint and imbued with proletarian party spirit are "distorted" Marxism-Leninism?

True, Comrade Mao Zedong committed glaring mistakes in his old age, but this should not become an excuse for negating Mao Zedong Thought, because the mistakes were the outcome of deviating from rather than following the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. We should differentiate Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes from the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. At the same time, we should not consider Mao Zedong Thought as Mao Zedong's personal ideas. It was a joint creation of veteran proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, and comrades of the whole party, and was a scientific summation of the experience of the Chinese revolution. The fundamental

reason for those who stubbornly advocate bourgeois liberalization to thoroughly negate Mao Zedong Thought lies in the fact that they set themselves against the Chinese people, Chinese revolution, and Chinese history, rather than in ignorance. Whenever you take a wrong stand, you will arrive at an opposite conclusion.

### III. Marxism-Leninism Is the Fundamental Guiding Ideology for Our Work in All Fields—Refuting So-Called “Pluralism”

Those who advocate bourgeois liberalization also put forward a so-called guiding ideology of “pluralism,” saying that Marxism-Leninism, being one school of thought, should not and cannot become a guiding ideology overriding other schools of thought.

The statement that Marxism-Leninism must treat other sciences as equals, must respect the unique development laws of various sciences, enrich and develop itself by imbibing nutrition from the development of other sciences, and should not and can not act as inclusive “science of sciences” is correct. Authors of Marxist-Leninist classics used to say so, and our party has invariably held this position. This, however, is not the point over which we diverge from those who preach “pluralism.” The essential difference lies in whether we should regard Marxism-Leninism as the fundamental guiding ideology for our work in all fields.

Those who play up “pluralism” as guiding ideology ignore the rudimentary common sense that, in a society where classes exist, the ruling ideas are bound to be the ideas of the ruling class. In a slave country, the ruling ideas are the ideas of the slaveowners; in a feudal country, the ruling ideas are the ideas of the feudal landlord class; in a capitalist country, the ruling ideas are the ideas of the capitalist class; and in a socialist country, the ruling ideas naturally are the ideas of the proletariat, that is, Marxism-Leninism. The reason is simple: The class that holds a dominant position in the social economic structure must cultivate the ideology that can protect its economic basis. In other words, different ruling ideas of different countries are only reflections of extensions of economic bases of particular countries in the ideological field. Marx and Engels pointed out long ago in their *Communist Manifesto* that “the ruling ideas of each age have always been the ideas of its ruling class.”<sup>3</sup>

The capitalist class always hypocritically covers up the class nature of ruling ideas and describes the capitalist society as a paradise where ideas of every description can play a role. In fact, the capitalist society has its own specific guiding ideology, that is, the capitalist political theory, which has gradually taken shape with the growth of the capitalist commodity economy and finds expression in the constitutions and laws of various capitalist countries. The capitalist class has consistently discriminated against those ideas that are likely to endanger its rule. As early as when scientific communism was born, the capitalist class took it as a fearful ghost, and tried

their best to drive it away. In the 20th century, the capitalist class further worked out a global strategy against the “communist pestilence,” and vowed to “check the terrifying threat shrouding the whole world.” This shows clearly that the capitalist “freedom of thought” is subject to strict class restrictions. Such being the case, is it “fair” to plead with socialist countries to allow capitalist ideas “to be on equal footing” with Marxism-Leninism, or to let Western ideological trends of all shades to run wild?

Marxism-Leninism’s status as a guiding ideology is not only determined by its class nature, but also by its fundamental nature. Like other sciences, Marxism-Leninism was unable to skirt around the specific problems of the times, but it focused its attention on the general laws of the development of nature, society, and ideology; the general trends and laws of the development of the times; and the basic problems the proletariat faces in fulfilling its historical mission, such as world outlook, methodology, and the outlook on society, the state, the class, and revolution. All these are of a basic nature as compared with other sciences.

This feature determines that it must be able to serve as a general guiding ideology. World outlook and methodology have everything to do with man’s multiple processes of understanding things. No scientific research or work is undertaken without the guidance of a certain world outlook and methodology. The question lies only in whether they are a scientific world outlook and methodology or not. For social sciences, apart from world outlook and methodology, the outlook on society, the state, the class, and revolution also has everything to do with every aspect of those sciences. No scientific research or work is not subject to the aforementioned fundamental viewpoints. The question, once again, lies in whether they are scientific viewpoints. Even in natural scientific research, as long as the research worker remains a member of a class society, his work is affected by a certain outlook on society, the state, the class, and revolution. Marxism-Leninism imbibed and reformed everything worthy found in the history of human ideological and cultural development of several thousand years, and founded the dialectical materialist world outlook and methodology, the scientific outlook on society, the state, the class, and revolution, and proved their viability through long-term social practice. Therefore, it is necessary to take them as a fundamental guiding ideology for our work. We will commit mistakes when we depart from Marxism-Leninism as a guiding ideology. This is also a truth proved by numerous facts.

Those who advocate regarding “pluralism” as a guiding ideology are not really interested in practicing “pluralism.” Their real objective is to annul our theoretical basis so that bourgeois ideology will hold sway. To achieve this, they adopt the tactics of “hang a sheep’s head as a shop sign and sell dogmeat,” negating Marxism-Leninism while flaunting the banner of developing Marxism-Leninism. Fang Lizhi once confessed: “Since the leadership said that Marxism must be developed, I

took advantage of the remark." "The form can be retained while we reform the content. Protestants were opposed to Catholicism and carried out religious reform, but they still made use of the same Bible. We can do likewise in China, crying wine and selling vinegar."

Marxism-Leninism does need developing. This, first of all, is a demand set by practice. Marxism-Leninism was generated from practice and will also develop in practice. Its vitality lies in its continual endeavor to analyze and study new circumstances and problems arising from practice, to use new theories to enrich and develop itself, and to provide guidance for practice, which is also developing. Second, it is an essential requirement of Marxism-Leninism itself. An important character that distinguishes Marxism-Leninism from other ideological systems lies in its denial of any eternal truth. Marxism-Leninism is revolutionary and critical in essence. Marx, Engels, and Lenin criticized those thinkers in human history who bragged about their theories at every turn as "eternal truths." Lenin openly claimed: "Socialists must develop Marxism-Leninism in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."<sup>4</sup> Third, developing Marxism-Leninism also constitutes a requirement for defending it. When Marxism-Leninism is being seriously vilified and attacked in the present era, no Marxist can remain indifferent. However, it is necessary to develop Marxism to defend it. If we rigidly adhere to a word in a sentence in Marxism, and refuse to develop it in light of practice, we will stifle its vitality and turn it into an ossified dogma, which will provide those who attack Marxism-Leninism with a handle. Only by developing Marxism-Leninism and enriching this scientific system with new theories so that it will constantly remain significant as a distinctive practical guiding theory, can we strike a powerful counterblow at those who slander and attack Marxism-Leninism using the pretext that the situation has changed.

Developing Marxism-Leninism, nevertheless, is no excuse for abandoning it, but is for the purpose of better holding onto the guidance provided by Marxism-Leninism. Developing it is aimed at adhering to it; without the latter, you cannot begin to talk about the former, just as you do not really adhere to it if you do not develop it. Here exists the struggle between two different viewpoints on development. Proceeding from practice, Marxists respect the dialectical law of cognition, and regard the truth as a process. They, on the one hand, refuse to regard a certain knowledge acquired by man as the absolute truth, and, on the other hand, refuse to believe man's knowledge reflecting the truth as something which disappears in a minute, that is, they integrate adhering to Marxism-Leninism with developing it in a dialectical way in light of practice. Those who hold a different outlook from this, proceeding from wishful thinking, deny that man's cognition is like a chain with various parts joined together, and that truth is a process, falling into the quagmire of negating the objective truth. As far as their cognitive roots are concerned, those who advocate bourgeois liberalism do approach Marxism

from a relative outlook on development. Naturally, negating Marxism-Leninism as a guiding ideology under the pretext of "developing" it is first of all a political rather than a cognitive problem.

Trying to "replace" Marxism-Leninism with the excuse of "developing" it is a new form of the struggle between those who advocate bourgeois liberalism and us. In the last few years, they have adopted the above tactics and peddled to young people and the public a lot of erroneous ideas, such as "multiparty system," "privatization," the "tend to become identical" [qu tong 6395 0681] theory, and "pluralism," where politics, economics, the system, and the guiding ideology are respectively concerned. Therefore, it is necessary for us to sum up the laws of the class struggle in special forms in the socialist period, and improve our capacity for identifying bourgeois liberalism and our skill of struggle.

To sum up, Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical base guiding our thinking. This is our firm and unshakable principle. The "Marxism-Leninism is outdated" theory, "Marxism is harmful" theory, and "pluralism" are, in the final analysis, aimed at removing our theoretical basis. To thoroughly thwart their plot to disintegrate socialism ideologically, we must, following the instructions of the party Central Committee, launch in a down-to-earth manner a drive to study and propagate Marxist-Leninist fundamental theories among vast numbers of cadres and youths. It should be realized that many young comrades of ours did not work at Marxism-Leninism hard enough, and some even have no rudimentary knowledge of it, though they have many other strong points. Being exposed to the environment of reform and opening up to the outside world and Western ideological trends, and incited by those who stubbornly advocate bourgeois liberalization, they are prone to be misled and go astray. There can be no differentiation without contrast, and the truth also calls for contrast. Only by studying hard Marxist-Leninist works and grasping their profound essence, can we see the paltriness of a number of modern Western "theories," and discern between right and wrong, dispel the dense fog, and reach a common understanding.

#### Footnotes

1. See *Selected Works of Lenin*, Vol II, p 599.
2. See *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol 1, p 302.
3. See the separate edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, published by the People's Publishing House.
4. See *Selected Works of Lenin*, Vol I, p 203.

**The Policy Concerning Financial Work That Radiates With the Light of Dialectics—Studying Two Articles Expounding the Policy Concerning Financial Work From the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping***

HK1710024789 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 89 pp 9-12

[Article by Zuo Chuntai 1563 2504 0669]

[Text] *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1938-1965)*, briefly termed below as the *Selections*, has come off the press. This is another important publication by Comrade Deng Xiaoping's on the theme of the union of the practices in China's revolution with Marxism and follows the publication of *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982: Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics)* (additional portion). The *Selections* puts together Comrade Deng Xiaoping's principal views and discussions from 1938 to the Great Cultural Revolution. It reflects from one side his revolutionary experiences and superior contributions during the historical period of 17 years after the anti-Japanese war, the war of liberation and the founding of the PRC and also reflects his important thoughts and theories on such sectors as the military and political, economic, and cultural affairs and party construction. Many of his thoughts still have a realistic and guiding significance for today.

On 18 September 1953, at the 28th meeting of the central people's government Administrative Council, Deng Xiaoping, vice premier of the government council and concurrently vice chairman of the central financial commission, was appointed concurrently Minister of Finance. The *Selections* collected two of his subsequent articles that specifically discuss financial work. One of the articles contained a portion of his talk at the opening session in January 1954 of the national conference of heads of financial departments and bureaus on the "six guidelines in financial work." The second article contained part of his speech at the closing session of the conference on the topic "Local Financial Work Must Understand the Whole Situation." Today, when we reread these two speeches after having experienced over 30 years of financial work, we feel deeply moved and acquire a deep understanding.

I

The six guidelines that Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated on financial work generally embraced the following: 1) "Guikou" [2981 0656] or, literally, returning or referring to the original party or source concerned; 2) "Baogan" [0545 1631], meaning contracting for completion of tasks; 3) Self-retaining reserve funds, surpluses not delivered upward; 4) Streamlining administrative personnel and strictly controlling the organization of personnel; 5) Use of general reserve funds must have the central government's sanction; and 6) Strengthening of financial supervision. These six guidelines were based on

Premier Zhou Enlai's summary of the financial conference held in the summer of 1953 and referred to the following problems found in the 1953 financial work:

1. 1953 was the first year of our country's First 5-Year Plan period. At that time, on the one hand, due to the great successes obtained in the restoration period, the zeal for construction on the part of the extensive masses of cadres and people was rather high. On the hand, due to lack of experience, no differentiation was made between ordinary receipts and extraordinary receipts in the budget compilation, no consideration was given to the unification and balancing of the state budget and the credits and loan plan, nor to the need for circulation funds between the quarters and months of the year in the budget itself. The surplus of some 3 billion yuan from the preceding year was wholly entered into the budget receipts, expenditure arrangements were then made, and the budget foundation was thus greatly strengthened. Budgeted receipts of the current year showed an increase of 23.36 percent over the preceding year, while budgeted expenditures increased by 43.06 percent. Although capital construction was reduced, it still showed an increase of more than 50 percent over the preceding year. "The result of compiling the budget in this way not only put us in a constant state of having insufficient credit and loan funds and of lacking financial reserve power, but also, with respect to certain investments, the trend of blind advance alienated from reality was accelerated."<sup>1</sup> In execution of the 1953 state plan, by March the total reserve fund was wholly spent, in subsequent months deficits appeared, and by August the deficit amounted to 2.3 billion yuan (equivalent to 9 percent of total budgetary receipts). Although balance was restored in receipts and expenses by the end of the year by means of the central government issuing urgent circulars, mobilizing the whole party and people of the whole country to increase production and practice economy and to cut down on expenses, this showed the unstable condition of our country's finances and the weakness of our reserve strength.

2. At the time of the founding of New China, facing the wreckage left by the KMT in the form of stifled production and currency inflation, our country's financial and economic work progressed from disintegrated operation to unified management, and a highly centralized unified management structure was enforced. At the time, this was entirely correct and necessary. In a short period of only 3 years we achieved the glorious successes of the fundamental improvement in the financial and economic situation, including a recovered economy, a balanced budget, and stable commodity prices. But, by 1953, when the anti-America aid-Korea war was triumphantly ended and the state had entered the period of planned economic construction and socialist transformation, the highly centralized financial management structure was no longer suited to the changed conditions and was not conducive to fully displaying the activism and enthusiasm of the various localities, departments, and enterprises. But, at the time, the financial management structure did not promptly carry out the necessary

changes to suit the changed conditions. Moreover, in that year the various tax surcharges collected by the localities were abolished, incorporated into the tax proper, and put on the channel of unified revenues. For the sake of balancing the budget, a sum of some 4 billion yuan was "scooped" or appropriated from the various localities and departments. This put various sides in a tense state. Looking at this budget, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said rather feelingly that the entire national property was lumped together, that the budget was highly centralized and rather all-encompassing, but that it was extremely precarious, adding that if anything should happen to the state there was absolutely nothing to fall back on. This thus made the contradiction of the highly centralized financial structure with various sides become all the more prominent.

3. Before November 1952, when the state Planning Commission had not yet been established and the First 5-Year Plan for the development of the national economy had not yet been formulated, the distribution of funds in the state budget in reality played the role of the national economic plan. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out that, because "figures embrace policies and deciding on figures is equivalent to deciding policies," the distribution of figures by financial departments is like "taking the place of the various departments in deciding policies." Hence, when the financial departments control more and in greater detail, they suffer punishment and become the object of attack and struggle. Thus, the practice of "guikou" should be carried out, that is, within the scope of the state budget, the "kou," or source, as the principal body concerned, should decide which affairs are important or insignificant, urgent or not urgent, which should be undertaken, and which should not be undertaken. The Ministry of Finance, with the nation's overall conditions in mind, should make decisions only concerning the large and important issues. Offering suggestions based on state resources and with appropriate proportions in mind. Working in this manner, we would be taking initiative.

At the national financial work conference held in the summer of 1953, the Ministry of Finance was subjected to criticism. In his concluding remarks at the conference, Premier Zhou Enlai, after confirming the notable successes of unification in finance, also criticized the Ministry of Finance for its defects of controlling too much and controlling to the point of strangling. He advocated the "necessity under the central government's unified leadership and planning of fixing the financial structure, demarcating the scope of duties and power, managing at separate levels, and holding responsibility level by level."

The above was the historical background of advocating the six guidelines of financial work.

## II

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's two speeches during the 1950's on financial work radiate with the bright light of

dialectical materialism and give people a deep-seated impression that cannot be forgotten even now.

1. In the conference, when he expounded on the six guidelines of financial work, he placed emphasis on how the Ministry of Finance should perform its work, on taking care of the local areas, and on taking measures that were suited to local conditions. As the meeting drew to a close, he again emphasized how local finance departments should do their work; how to care for the larger situation and the central government, and how to keep up centralized unification. Larger principles should guide smaller principles. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out that, in the past, the Ministry of Finance had problems because it failed to keep the larger situation in mind, and failed to explain clearly the strategic problems. Consideration of the whole versus the part, the central government versus the localities, and centralization and unification versus taking measures to suit local conditions should not be lacking, but they should not be treated as equals. The whole, the central government, and centralization and unification should be the leading factors. In the event of conflict between the two, the part should follow the whole, the localities should yield to the central government, and centralization and unification should take precedence over measures to suit local conditions. To fail to do so and to take the part, the localities, and measures to suit local conditions as the leading links would be an error in principle. The fact that the emphasis he made at the beginning of the meeting was different from what he stressed as the meeting drew to a close amply illustrated Comrade Xiaoping's ability to make good use of the weapon of dialectics and his high-class and superb leadership skill. If his ideas are followed, then it will be possible to prevent one trend from covering up another trend and to prevent going from one extreme to the other extreme. It would be possible to prevent emergence of the parts not caring for the whole, and the localities disregarding the central government, after having corrected the various government departments' mistakes in not caring for the part and the local areas.

2. The six guidelines themselves are also a sort of dialectics-united body. "The Ministry of Finance is a comprehensive department centrally manifesting state policy." Each and every receipt and expenditure of the Ministry of Finance is closely related to the intimate interests of the various localities, departments, and the extensive masses. "Only through everybody taking care of finance and being zealous about it can things be done well." The purpose of the three guidelines of "guikou," "baogan," and self-retained reserve funds, nondelivery upward of surplus, are to arouse the activism of the various localities, departments, and the extensive masses. The three guidelines on streamlining administrative personnel and controlling the size of the personnel organization, use of the general reserve funds requiring sanction from the central government, and strengthening financial supervision are all meant to augment control and supervision. Any one of the guidelines is the unified body of the combination of laxness

and severity and looseness and tightness. For example, in the case of "guikou," after the general program is fixed, the budgets of the various localities and departments must be formulated principally by the various "kou's" or sources, but they still cannot be left alone or unattended, as the financial departments have the power to voice their views and to intervene. Again, for example, take the case of surpluses in contracting. On the one hand, the localities and departments may retain the surpluses that "need not be delivered to the treasury," while, on the other hand, it is regulated that retentions "cannot be used to enlarge the organization structure, or to increase the salaries and wages of the staff, or to start or expand various construction projects subject to control," and, moreover, the plans for using the retention funds should acquire the prior approval of upper-level organs.<sup>2</sup> Thus, restriction and control still persist. Therefore, decontrol and control, delegating power and exercising restriction, and stirring up enthusiasm and preventing acting blindly are unified dialectically.

At the time, certain comrades asked, "After enforcement of the six guidelines, is it true that the Ministry of Finance has nothing to do, and is its power more or less than before?" Comrade Xiaoping replied, "I said at one time that the Ministry of Finance should reduce its working hours from eight to seven. This was a figure of speech and what I meant was that we must overcome the defects of controlling too many things, even the minor details. In reality, there are still many things that the Ministry of Finance should understand and control. As for whether its power is larger or smaller, I can see that strengthening financial supervision indicates its power is larger, at least far larger than the power of sanctioning the expense budgets of, say, the water conservancy board or the various cultural units. Enforcement of the six guidelines meant deleting certain work not under its control and freeing its hands for investigation and research, to study the financial problems of the enterprises, the problem of financial supervision, the problem of how to carry out the three-step financial system, and so on; there are many things to do and we must grasp the big issues which are plentiful on every hand.

3. On the side of setting up and strengthening financial reserve strength, the union of separation and integration is likewise manifested. for the sake of solidifying and strengthening national finance, Comrade Xiaoping paid much attention to building up and augmenting reserve strength. He said, "The survival policy of a country should lie in possessing the requisite strength to withstand foreign attack and to meet emergencies." In the "Report on the State's 1954 Draft Budget," he relayed Chairman Mao's directive asserting that "increasing production, practicing economy, and retaining more and larger reserve strength were the three reliable defense lines in consolidating the state budget." How then should we go about building up and strengthening reserve strength? Comrade Xiaoping thus pointed out that we must put the reserve strength on various sides and set a backing for it everywhere. For example, we

should gradually make a full allocation of the circulation funds for industrial and commercial enterprises and the credit and loan sinking funds of the banks and stipulate that the circulating funds should be 3 to 4 percent of the budget, and the reserve funds should be 3 to 5 percent of the budget. Again for example, he made the supposition that the Ministry of Finance, aside from the reserve funds, should have 1 billion yuan that, including funds and facilities from the localities, would make up a total backing of some 2 billion yuan (roughly equivalent to 9 percent of the budget) and that only then would it be possible to meet an emergency. At that time, some comrades wondered that if the localities and departments did not annually have to delivery upward their surplus, would they not become wealthy people with the accumulation of surpluses? Comrade Xiaoping replied, "True, they have become wealthy people, but what does this matter? Please do not think that large surpluses will mean extravagance because expenses are regulated and kept under control. If surpluses accumulated in 1954 and 1955, then, in 1956 we can negotiate with them and ask them to cut down their budgets a little bit and have a portion of the surplus delivered to the state. This may happen in normal conditions. But "when and as an eventuality happens, localities can deliver what they have held back, because everyone loves the country and to offer one's all is a pleasure." Thus, disintegration and unification, deposits in the hands of the various localities and the reserve strength of the state are dialectically united. Comrade Xiaoping commented, "The level of China's party is not at all low; it understands the overall situation, is patriotic, and may be depended on to do its duty." Seen from the conditions existing then, this was truly the case. It was inseparable from the good and sound party style in the 1950's, the staunch feeling and concept of the cadres concerning the overall situation, and the relative thoroughness of ideological and political work.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "It would be impossible for a writer without a philosophical mind to write a good treatise on economics."<sup>3</sup> The reasons why Marx was able to write *Das Kapital*, Lenin, the *Theory of Imperialism*, and Mao Zedong, the *Theory of New Democratic Doctrine*, were because each was, concurrently, a philosopher, had a philosopher's mind, and wielded the weapon of dialectics. Comrade Chen Yun said: "Learn philosophy well and you will enjoy it for life." Recently, Comrade Xiaoping again pointed out: "We should grasp with both hands and discuss the pros and cons, but should not grasp firmly with one hand and softly with the other." Herein lies the deep-going, important, and realistic significance of the six guidelines on financial work which radiates with the light of dialectics.

### III

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The six guidelines embody an important political purpose, which is to put state finances on a regular, safe, and reliable foundation. The country's finance today is in an unstable state and cannot stand severe tests. We must understand

such a situation and try to change it with care and patience." Seen as of today, the basic principles, stand, viewpoints, and methods manifest in these two of Comrade Xiaoping's speeches still carry an important and realistic guiding significance.

Our country's financial situation today is also unstable. We must clear-mindedly understand this situation and work carefully and patiently to have it changed. It is, in general, the same as that in 1953. However, an important point of difference from that in 1953 is that the 1953 financial deficits arose from the lack of experience and the deficits occurred accidentally in the course of executing the budget. Obviously, at that time our country insisted on the guideline calling for "balancing receipts and disbursement, and yielding a small surplus"; hence, once the deficits were discovered, measures were taken immediately to have them rectified. As for the country's finances at present, in the 10 years from 1979 to 1988, there were deficits in 9 years. In the majority of those years, deficits were incorporated into the budgets when they were drawn up, with the exception of individual years when the leftover problems of the 10 years' disturbances of the Great Cultural Revolution had to be settled; and the deficits arose out of pure compulsion in the execution of the budgets. In recent years, the financial deficits grew and this was closely related to Comrade Zhao Ziyang's erroneous theories of the "harmlessness of deficits," the "benefits of inflation," "finance just for rice-eating's sake," and so on. At the moment, we have a large volume of foreign debts that must be repaid. The ratio of national finance in national income declined from 32.9 percent in 1979 to less than 20 percent in 1988. The current financial problem is unlike that of 1953 when, in an emergency, the central government needed only to issue a special circular and the problem would be easily solved. However, it is gratifying that the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee prescribed the guideline of improvement, rectification, and intensification of the reform, and the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee removed Comrade Zhao Ziyang from all his incumbent posts. This provided the turning point for rekindling and reviving the country's finances. This is an opportune moment for fixing a time limit for removing financial deficits, restoring financial equilibrium, fully displaying the functions and role of socialist finance, and strengthening the financial levers' capability in effecting macroeconomic adjustment and control.

Another important point of difference from 1953 is that, in 1953, the basic strength of the various localities and departments, that is, of funds outside the budget, was equivalent to only 4.2 percent of the funds within the budget, and the aggregate amount did not exceed 1 billion yuan, which was very small indeed. In 1988, funds outside the budget amounted to 227 billion yuan, equivalent to 87 percent of the funds within the budget, and they had developed from a complementary and subsidiary status to more or less equal status with the funds within the budget. Although this has its advantages, because of the weak ideological-political work, and

poor knowledge of the overall situation, it would naturally be difficult to accomplish what Comrade Xiaoping said, "...it would be a pleasure to do everything." Hence, the various localities and departments, particularly the various enterprises and enterprise groups, should penetratingly grasp and understand the spirit of these two speeches by Comrade Xiaoping, and, beginning with the current economic situation, strengthen their strategic concept, and overall concept, and earnestly do a good job in financial work on various fronts.

#### Footnotes

1. Report on the 1954 national budget draft plan.
2. Directive of the Administrative Council on compilation of the 1954 draft budget.
3. *Mao Zedong's Scholastic Life*

#### Bourgeois Liberalization Is the Hotbed for Corruption

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 89 pp 13-15

[Article by Wu Ge 0702 2047; published in FBIS-CHI-89-194, 10 Oct 89 pp 32-34]

#### Make a Full Appraisal of the Disastrous Effect and Harmfulness of Bourgeois Liberalization

HK1710043189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 89 pp 16-20

[Article by Hua Chao 5478 6389]

[Text] An appalling counterrevolutionary rebellion has been put down. The socialist People's Republic of China has stood the test of blood and fire; the antiparty and antisocialist forces that plotted and instigated the turmoil and rebellion suffered an ignominious defeat; and the party and the people won a decisive victory. This serves as comfort to the thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs who struggled hard amid difficulties and heroically gave their lives for the republic.

However, we must notice that the struggle is not over. The disastrous effect of bourgeois liberalization which has run rampant for a long time is very grave and that the losses caused by Comrades Zhao Ziyang's mistakes are extremely huge. We must remain sober-minded on this point.

Among other things, we should face squarely the antiparty, antisocialist political forces that gradually formed over many years and that instigated student unrest, turmoil, and rebellion. In the last 2 years, under the agitation and connivance of Comrade Zhao Ziyang, they have developed viciously. Among them there are a very small number of people who perennially, stubbornly stuck to the stand of bourgeois liberalization and engaged in political conspiracy, people who colluded with domestic and foreign hostile forces, and people who

supplied illegal organizations with top secrets of the party and the state. Some of them donned the laurels of "scholar" and "celebrity"; some held high positions with real power; and some, who were lauded as "elite elements," became members of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's think tank and were put in important positions. It was precisely because of these people who gathered together under an antiparty and antisocialist program, plotted behind the scenes, clamored on the stage, worked in collaboration with people in the higher and lower levels and forces at home and abroad in many ways, and knocked together illegal organizations to scrape together some unreformed elements who had been released after serving sentences, political gangs of hooligans, the evil elements of the gang of four, and other dregs of society, that the current turmoil and rebellion occurred. On no account must we underestimate the destructiveness and harmfulness of these political forces.

We must also fully understand that when he held the leading posts in the party and state leadership, particularly when he took charge of the work of the central authorities, in reality, Comrade Zhao Ziyang took an approach of bourgeois liberalization toward our party, thus seriously weakening its whole work. He deviated from and abandoned the four cardinal principles, connived and encouraged bourgeois liberalization, favored people who stubbornly stuck to the stand of bourgeois liberalization on the pretext of carrying out the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world and opposing ideological ossification, and reproached, suppressed, and attacked comrades who upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and who firmly opposed bourgeois liberalization. As the party's general secretary, instead of paying close attention to party building, he persistently preached "thinning out" the party's leading role and "thinning out party work style," and even spread the argument that "corruption is hard to avoid" in excusing "official profiteering," thus giving the green light to corruption. His advocacy of "remolding" instead of paying close attention to spiritual civilization construction and attaching importance to the construction and publicity of Marxist theories, in fact, weakens ideological and political work and negates the fine traditions that formed in this regard for a long time in the past. All this has weakened party leadership and disrupted party organizations to a greater extent. Consequently, some party organizations lost their fighting capacity in the face of the offensive of bourgeois liberalization and were thus dominated by people stubbornly sticking to bourgeois liberalization. Hence, they became asylums for people who advocated bourgeois liberalization and engaged in political conspiracy. Our party is a staunch proletarian party which has stood the test of protracted and complicated struggles; it has not been and cannot be destroyed by the turmoil and rebellion and Comrade Zhao Ziyang's mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the party. The principal aspects of the party are good and the majority of our party cadres are also good. However, we must fully appraise the serious consequences of neglecting and weakening party building during the last

few years and realize that restrengthening party building, revitalizing and reinvigorating the party, and boosting the party's prestige and fighting power call for tremendous efforts.

Meanwhile, we should not neglect the disastrous effects that rampant bourgeois liberal ideas have had on people's spirits and mental outlook. For a long time in the past, the struggle against bourgeois liberalization was not carried out persistently and, thus, there have been ups and downs in the struggle. As a result, the more bourgeois liberalization develops, the more rampant it becomes and the rights and wrongs in both ideology and theory were confused. The main manifestations in this aspect are as follows:

It has caused some people to waver in their confidence in upholding the four cardinal principles. This is the concentrated manifestation of the harmfulness of the trend of thought favoring bourgeois liberalization. The four upholds [upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought], which have been enshrined in the Constitution as the foundation underlying all our efforts to build the country, have a bearing on the future of our country, the fate of our nation, and even on whether we can have a foothold in the world. It is precisely because of this that all people who stubbornly pursue bourgeois liberalization have always directed the spearhead of struggle at these four upholds. They did their utmost to defame the four cardinal principles, vilified them as the sword of Damocles "hanging high over the interests of the people" and being "bitterly hated by the people," and clamored to "abandon," "nullify," and "get rid of" them. They villainously declared that "the Communist Party has rotted to the core" and "it is an organization that will soon crumble and fall"; drove that "the attempt and failure of socialism is one of the two great legacies of mankind in the 20th century"; preached that "the people's democratic dictatorship has no object" is "feudal autocracy" and "autocratic rule"; and clamored that "Marxism is out of fashion," "Marxism is utopia," and that it could solve the problems in today's China and today's world. Confused and poisoned by these views, some people cherish the Western multiparty system, in particular, young students, who do not understand that the nominal "pluralistic politics" of Western capitalist societies is, in fact, the monistic politics of bourgeois dictatorship which is characterized by different bourgeois political parties being in office in turn. They see only that the capitalist world survived postwar crises and achieved fairly great advances in such areas as science and technology as well as in production, and fail to see that under the capitalist system there still exist irreconcilable, sharp contradictions of all kinds. They lack a correct analysis and understanding of the fact that, because of difficulties and errors in the course of construction and various drawbacks in the management structure of our country and other socialist countries, the superiority of the socialist system has failed to display

itself as persistently as it should. This being the case, the trend of thinking that "socialism is inferior to capitalism," whipped by those "elite elements," easily struck a sympathetic cord among them ideologically. Thus, they even lost confidence in the future of socialism and communism, doubted and wavered in their conviction that the four cardinal principles are basic to the foundation of the state. They switched to convictions other than socialism and to the Western capitalist world to seek a "general plan" for running the country, "ideological weapons" for curing social evils, the so-called "new truth" for social development, and accepted such things as "wholesale Westernization" and the theory of two social systems tending toward "the same direction" trumpeted by Fang Lizhi and his like.

The sense of collectivism has been sapped. Collectivism is the important source of the proletariat's rallying capacity and an important principle and characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization. In the war years of the past, in order to overthrow the "three big mountains," through reliance on collectivism and revolutionary heroism we built power in a China that was in a state of disunity. We united the Chinese people to win victory. Today, in carrying out socialist modernization, we should similarly carry forward the spirit of collectivism. In order to practice capitalism in the political and economic fields, people who stubbornly pursue bourgeois liberalization are bound to oppose collectivism in the ideological realm. This being the case, flaunting the banners of "emancipating the mind" and "changing values" on all occasions, they insisted on confusing the relationship between the state, the collectives, and the individual. They preached bourgeois values and "independent ideology," solipsism and egoism, propagated the social logical theory that takes the self as the center. They regarded the notion that "I myself am me" as the motto of life, favored self-choice, self-struggle, and self-realization, demanded absolute democracy and freedom without any bonds, a demand which ultimately stresses a capital-letter "Self" or out-and-out extreme individualism; and, by putting modern labels on it, they even peddled everywhere the often-repeated trash of the exploiting classes in the last several thousand years that "unless a man looks out for himself, Heaven and Earth will destroy him." The rampancy of these things has greatly corrupted people's minds and poisoned social conventions. Whether a thing is advantageous to oneself becomes the criterion for one to accept or reject it. As long as it will benefit them, these people will not hesitate to encroach on the interests of the state and the collectives. They avoid anything that will not benefit them and even deem it fair and sensible not to save the dying. As long as there are gains to reap, they are ready to risk the danger of doing even evil things. To seek private gain, they are ready to sell out their moral integrity and dignity. Some people view themselves as supreme and they have elevated themselves to an such extremely serious extent that they just enjoy rights and are reluctant to perform duties, and they do not have the slightest sense of responsibility to the state, nation, and society. To

achieve self-realization, they will not hesitate to trample the legal system underfoot at will and by fair means or foul, defy school discipline, administrative discipline, and the law and disciplinary codes, and to act as they please. They despise those who work and have contributed to the collectives; and they call those who follow Lei Feng's example and do people good turns the "fools" and the "deformed" of the new age.

The patriotic spirit has been deflated. Pursuing bourgeois liberalization is the "peaceful evolution" strategy adopted against socialism by international capitalism, with a view to bringing China into the territory of international monopoly capital and turning independent China into a vassal of big Western capitalist countries. Bourgeois liberalization conflicts diametrically with the patriotism we are advocating. They are as incompatible as fire and water. We view deep love for the motherland's mountains and rivers, for the Great Wall, which symbolizes the spirit of the Chinese nation, for the Chinese civilization nurtured by the Huang He and the Chang Jiang, and for the great socialist motherland, and dedicating oneself to making it prosperous and powerful as elements of our patriotic spirit, the concrete embodiment of our national pride and national confidence, and also the national dignity and personality that every Chinese with innate knowledge must possess. Sometimes, people who stubbornly persisted in the stand of bourgeois liberalization also talked about "patriotism," but they removed its essence. Under the slogan of "patriotism," they peddled treason, the philosophy of traitors, and lackey ideology. They preached that for China to prosper and develop, it must rely on foreign countries and be "a colony for 300 years." They did their utmost to propagate national nihilism and historical nihilism and, as in the *River Died Young*, they cursed and vilified the "Huang He civilization" and eulogized and prettified the "blue civilization," that is, Western civilization. They even clamored to change the "race" [ren zhong 0068 4429] and "dissolve China" and incited people to be "citizens of the world" or to be slaves of foreign masters. Some of them went so far as to regard the Opium War and the War of Resistance Against Japan as going against historical trends, saying that if China had "accepted aggression" and "become part of the East Asian Sphere of Glory" in those years, it would today be prosperous. Under these circumstances, despising the motherland, worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreign powers, unduly humbling oneself, and so on, spread all over town and even foreigners viewed this state of affairs as lamentable. Some people lost their national integrity and regarded it as an honor rather than a disgrace to fawn on foreigners.

They denigrated the superior traditions of the Chinese nation. Our country is an ancient, civilized country with several thousand long years of history, and the Chinese nation has formed a complete set of traditionally virtuous and peculiarly styled habits and customs with national characteristics in the course of long-term development and also formed a set of glorious revolutionary

traditions of hard struggle in the course of more than a half century of struggle. These are the conditions for and foundation of the existence and development of our nation among the nations in the world. To achieve their political agenda and "total Westernization," those that obstinately adhered to the stand in bourgeois liberalization also collected all dirty words to insult our excellent traditions. Without conducting any analysis, and distinguishing between the essence and the dross, they stigmatized all excellent traditions as feudal, decadent, declining things. They accused revolutionary traditions of being like an old Chinese lunar calendar, unable to meet the needs of 1980's modernization. In their opinion, to realize modernization, everything must be Westernized and all modes of thinking, all ways of life, all patterns of consumption, and all principles of people's contacts must be introduced from the West. They disseminated materialism and regarded "doing everything for money's sake" as the aim of life. These things have had a very bad influence on our political, economic, and social lives, and on cultural amusements. In a certain period of time, yearning for "high consumption," regarding hard work and plain living as a disgrace, regarding extravagance and waste as an honor, and preaching the so-called theory of "unavoidable corruption" seriously corrupted our party and government work styles. The unlawful and repulsive phenomena of dealing in power and money, taking advantage of power to pursue private ends, large and small "official profiteering," offering and accepting bribes, and corruption gradually tended to become increasingly serious.

Over the past few years, because bourgeois liberalization has passed unimpeded and anti-Marxism has caused a temporary clamor, some positions in our ideological sphere have been occupied by bourgeois ideology. Thus, some people, especially young students, have not received Marxist education and socialist education very well, but have received education in bourgeois liberalization. Although many young students have patriotic enthusiasm, they have scanty experience in life, are not very clear about the history and status quo of China, lack political and ideology immunity, and unavoidably have subjective one-sidedness in ideological method. They are, therefore, consciously or unconsciously, subject to the influence of bourgeois liberalization and will even fall captive to bourgeois liberalization. They have praised Fang Lizhi and his ilk as "heroes" and "fighters for democracy and freedom" who stubbornly go in for bourgeois liberalization and worshipped, and they have followed them as "teachers who have introduced them to a certain field of study" and "people leading the way." Many people were involved and deceived in the student strike, turmoil, and rebellion plotted and organized by a tiny number of people and that ran counter to the young students' subjective desire. Some of them have not yet waked up and still have all sorts of misgivings.

A large number of facts confronting us show that the ideological source and social foundation of this disturbance and the bad influence and serious consequences

brought about by this disturbance have not vanished and cannot vanish following suppression of the disturbance, and that the soil and conditions for new disturbances still exist. We must by no means lose our alertness.

We must soberly see that, after suppression of this disturbance, the international major climate has not basically changed. The foreign political forces hostile to socialism will not abandon their anticommunist and antisocialist stand and give up their strategy for overthrowing the regime of a socialist country under the leadership of a communist party. To effect a change in the socialist system of our country and to attempt to turn our country into a dependency of international monopoly capitalism, they have adopted a strategy of "peaceful evolution" to rope in and train agents in the party and government of China. The fact that they failed to achieve their goal this time will not cause them to abandon their strategy. Until today, they still confuse right and wrong and fabricate rumors to mislead and deceive people. They regard as "democracy fighters" those who have been ordered arrested by our government for having committed heinous crimes during this rebellion. They have taken these criminals under their wings and given them protection. They have provided these degenerates of the Chinese nation a place to carry out anticommunist activities, and to commit treason. This place has become the headquarters of these hostile forces who are attempting to stage a comeback. They will attempt to isolate us politically, to apply economic sanctions against us, and to oppress us in public opinion until they feel these attempts no longer serve their needs. Reality has proved once again that contradictions and struggles between socialism and international monopoly capitalism are unavoidable. The so-called "theory of convergence" of two kinds of social systems is nothing but talk meant to deceive the public. "International detente" and "dialogue" do not signify in the slightest that these contradictions and struggles no longer exist; on the contrary, we must by no means lower our guard.

We must also soberly see that, although the minor climate at home has basically changed following the suppression of the disturbance, it is by no means peaceful across the land. The antiparty and antisocialist political force at home that was put to rout is not reconciled to its failure and is still putting up a last-ditch struggle. Some members of this force have fled abroad and are using the protection given by their foreign masters to build up their strength and are piecing together an unlawful organization that seeks power and wealth by betraying their country. Some others who fled abroad have been in hiding in order to analyze the current situation and to wait for an opportune moment to stage a comeback. These people are pinning their hopes on the passage of time, and also hope to use difficulties that may arise in China in the future. After meeting with head-on blows dealt by the party and people, the situation of the unbridled, raging, and unchecked bourgeois liberal ideology supported for a long time by some high-level leaders has basically

changed, however, this ideology still occupies some ground and has a fairly extensive market. The influence of bourgeois liberalization in the party, among young people, and in society is far from eliminated. It continues to play a negative role. It also takes time to eliminate the corruption among government officials—a phenomenon that was used by a handful of people to incite the masses' discontent during the turmoil. All this shows that we should not overlook the existence of latent unstable factors in China that could cause disturbances under certain conditions.

Confronted with such an actual international and domestic situation, we must draw lessons from our previous mistakes and not forget a certain amount of class struggle. In recent years, a tendency has existed in the party to avoid class contradictions and class struggle; the concept of class struggle has fallen into oblivion, the use of class analysis has been discarded, and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist ideologies and between the socialist and capitalist roads has not been mentioned. In fact, because necessary importance has not been attached to it, class struggle has not died out by itself. It not only exists in a certain sphere, but also has some international flavor and will even be expressed in an intensified form. The repeated trials of strength between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles over the past years are the concentrated expression of this class struggle. The disturbance that was put down not long ago was class struggle emerging in an intensified form. Such an extent of class struggle will exist for a long time and will likely intensify, and this is independent of people's subjective desire. Our only choice is that we do not exaggerate or neglect its existence, that we must have in our hands the initiative in the struggle, must learn to correctly and effectively wage a struggle against the various forms of domestic and foreign hostile forces in complicated circumstances, and must unremittingly carry on the struggle against bourgeois liberalization without leaving it unfinished.

We will not alter the effective principles and policies because of the international and domestic hostile forces' disturbance and the harm of the trend of thought of bourgeois liberalization. We still want to continuously deepen reform of economic and political structures and to open to the outside world even more extensively. However, we must give up the viewpoint and method of setting reform and opening up against adhering to the four cardinal principles and organically integrating both of them not only in ideological understanding but also in practical work. The experience of the past few years has proved that there is really a question of what direction and road reform and opening up will "reform" and "open" to. We must carry out socialist reform and opening up, further consolidate and perfect the socialist system, and achieve socialist modernization. Those who went in for bourgeois liberalization carried out reform and opening up because they wanted to change our country's socialist system and to achieve capitalism in our country in order to meet the needs of the international monopoly capitalist countries in vainly

attempting to turn our country into their dependency. Therefore, we must not only be on guard against using an ossified viewpoint to handle the four cardinal principles and opposing reform and opening up under the pretext of the four upholds, but we must also oppose using the viewpoint of bourgeois liberalization to handle reform and opening up, flaunting the banner of reform and opening up to oppose the four cardinal principles, and pursuing bourgeois liberalization. We must really regard the four cardinal principles as a prerequisite for reform and opening up, guarantee that they are adhered to and implemented, and guarantee that education in combating bourgeois liberalization and the struggle against bourgeois liberalization runs through reform and opening up and through the whole course of building socialist modernization.

To adhere to the four cardinal principles and to struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we are required to resolutely correct the phenomenon of "the party not administering its own affairs" and to really strengthen party building. It is necessary first to systematically criticize the proposition and view of bourgeois liberalization, to get rid of bad influences created by the trend of thought of bourgeois liberalization in the party, and to clarify confused theoretical and ideological right and wrong. Furthermore, it is essential to oppose the incorrect ideology of the so-called theory of "unavoidable corruption" and of the proposition on "fading out the party work style," in order to really solve the question of the party work style as a life-and-death matter which has a bearing on the party, and to resolutely eliminate the corrupt phenomena. On the basis of carrying on ideological rectification, we must carry on organizational rectification, act strictly according to party discipline and state law, get rid of all obstacles, and weed out from the party the elements that stubbornly adhere to bourgeois liberalization and the corrupt elements that squeeze the flesh and blood of the people. Only by building the party well, enhancing the prestige of the party and government, and strengthening their call and combat effectiveness will the small number of hostile elements and the trend of thought of bourgeois liberalization lose their market and find it hard to stir up trouble and to jeopardize our cause. After the suppression of the rebellion, the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee promptly put forward the tasks of doing well in grasping four major matters. After that, they also decided to grasp well in the near future seven issues with which the masses are universally concerned, emphasized that the leading comrades of the party Central Committee and State Council should take the lead, and expressed the resolution of the party Central Committee to strengthen party building and building an honest government. We happily see that under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core, bad things are changing into good things. We can be convinced that in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, our party, our people, and our republic

will steel themselves into impregnable and unbreakable ones in the trial of strength with all evil forces at home and abroad!

### Adhere to the Path of Developing Industry With Chinese Characteristics

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[Article by Kang Shien 1660 0013 1869]

[Text] Over the past 40 years, New China's petroleum industry has achieved enormous development. Crude oil output in the country has jumped from 120,000 tons in the initial period of liberation to 130 million tons, putting it in the world's forefront. Rich crude oil and natural gas deposits have been discovered in the 22 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous zones of the country, and enormous changes have been made in the geographical distribution of the crude oil industry. By the end of 1988, the cumulative output of crude oil in the country totaled 1.88 billion tons and the output of natural gas totaled 215.2 billion cubic meters. Cumulative investments by the state in the crude oil industry amounted to 75.6 billion yuan and, under the conditions of the crude oil price being far lower than the international price, the crude oil industry's cumulative financial deliveries to the state was 203.9 billion yuan, an investment rate of return of 270 percent. The aggregate volume of exported crude oil and petroleum products was 320 million tons, and the gross foreign exchange earnings amounted to \$49 billion. Various categories of petrochemical products using crude oil and natural gas as raw materials have been used extensively in industry, agriculture, communications and transport, national defense, top-notch technologies, and people's livelihood, thus creating enormous economic benefits and social benefits. The annual output of crude oil increased from 120,000 tons to 130 million tons. Such a development took the United States and Mexico some 75 years, whereas it took China only 39 years.<sup>1</sup> That our crude oil industry has made such glorious accomplishments is basically the result of firm insistence on the party's leadership, on leadership by Marxism, and on taking the socialist road. The 40 years of experience in the crude oil industry have testified that only through firm insistence on the four cardinal principles and on China taking its own road to industrial development can there be prosperity and development of China's industries. Regarding the recent disturbances and rioting in the capital, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "The eruption of this incident is well worth our deep thinking and makes us review the past and think about the future with cool heads." Our "firm insistence on the four cardinal principles has not been thorough enough and we have not used them as basic ideologies to educate the people, the students, and the entire body of party members. The nature of this incident is the contradiction between bourgeois liberalism and insistence on the four cardinal principles." Reviewing the history of the 40 years of development of the petroleum industry, we feel all the

more the depth and thoroughness of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's remarks and how he has grasped the important aspects and core of the whole problem. I wish, in combination with the realities of the development of the petroleum industry, to express certain views on why and how the large and medium-sized state-run enterprises should firmly adhere to implementing the four cardinal principles and take the road of developing industry with Chinese characteristics.

### There Should Never Be Any Weakening of the Party's Leadership Over the Enterprises and the Ideological Political Work in the Enterprises

In recent years, Comrade Zhao Ziyang's advocating weakening the party's leadership and transforming the political ideological work has had disastrous consequences. Many party organs at the grassroots level have become lax in spirit and lost their fighting power. Departments on political work have been abolished. The traditions and strong points of ideological and political work have been cast aside. Many Communist Party members with party consciousness have been deeply concerned and extremely dissatisfied. After all, in the new situation of reform and opening to the outside world, should we strengthen the party's leadership or weaken it? Should we strengthen, transform, and improve ideological and political work or weaken it or give it up altogether? As far as our country is concerned, this is related to the big problem of what road to take; and as for an individual enterprise, it is the big problem of whether or not it can firmly adhere to the socialist direction.

Seen from the actual practice of the 40 years of the petroleum industry, the party organ in an enterprise should be the core of the political leadership of the enterprise and constitute the fighting citadel for uniting, organizing, and educating the extensive masses of staff members and workers. This kind of leadership is manifested in two ways: One is that the enterprises firmly and irrevocably carry out the party's line, guidelines, and policy, and also carry out the state and upper-level department statutes, plans, direction, and orders so that the enterprises may proceed according to the correct political direction. The other way is to forgo the all-inclusive leadership of the "unitarian" type of the past and support the plant director's full power and responsibility in such aspects as administrative leadership, production command, management and control, and logistics and to employ powerful and effective political and ideological work to ensure that the director's orders will be executed and that production tasks will be accomplished in an all-round manner. The good part about this is that the party committee has definite functions and responsibilities, can devote its full energy to building up the party and educating the party members, grasp well the political and ideological work on the staff members and workers, and grasp well the building of spiritual civilization. At the same time, the plant

director can truly take up his responsibility and devote his main energy to grasping well production command, management, and control.

With the plant director taking charge of production and administrative work and the party committee being responsible for ideological and political work, how is it possible to join the two together so as to avoid the phenomenon of there being "two skins"? The experiences of Daqing and certain other petroleum enterprises are that: First, the party committee secretary and the plant director must be united by a common target, that is, definitely protecting the thorough implementation of the party's road, guidelines, and policy in the unit; relying on the positive attitude and creativeness of the extensive mass of staff members and workers; performing a good job in production construction, management, and control; and jointly devoting efforts to strengthening the construction of the two civilizations in the enterprise. Second, the secretary and the plant head must be of high caliber and quality; talk about principles, unity, and the situation as a whole; support each other in their work; respect each other; learn from each other; refrain from fighting for first place; and each in their own sphere of duties, exert their utmost efforts to take up their responsibilities. Third, the secretary and the plant director must cooperate closely with each other, each giving priority to his own work, dividing their work, but not splitting up the house. The party committee should likewise be concerned with and understand production and start with production to grasp ideology, whereas the plant director should link production and management to ideological work, grasp production with ideology to start with, and have the two zeals and vital forces join together in "unison." Fourth, the principle of the system of democratic centralism must be implemented; all important problems must go through group study and discussions, but work pertaining to production, administration, management, and control should be decided on by the plant director.

In order to strengthen the party's ideological and political work in the enterprise, it is necessary to set up a superb and strong contingent on political work, and full-time political work personnel should be positioned in the enterprise, the drilling teams, and the workshops. When Daqing staged its campaigns, for the sake of performing a good job in grassroots-level construction, it even consented to set up fewer drilling teams and preferred to install a full complement of political instructors at the grassroots level. The political instructors performed a large amount of work related to the daily problems of the staff members and workers on ideology, work, learning, living, as well as handling the relations between industry and agriculture and helping to solve the family problems of the staff members and workers. They thus solved ideological problems at the grassroots level and ensured that team leaders and members could devote all their efforts to grasping production. At the same time, considerable attention was paid to the building of party sub-branches at the grassroots level,

and firm insistence was put on implementation of the system of "three meetings and one lesson" and on fully displaying the role of the party subcommittee as a citadel of struggle as well as the role of the party members as exemplary vanguards. By so doing, ideological and political work was planted firmly at the grassroots level and played an important role in enhancing the fighting spirit of the contingents on the front line. Speaking in this context, ideological and political work can be converted into productive forces, can carve out man's world outlook, arouse his spirit, convert spirit into material forces, and promote the development of production. Political workers are the engineers of mankind's soul. The difficult and complex nature of their work is akin to that of engineers, technicians, and other business workers. Their treatment should be the same as that accorded to technicians and management personnel.

To reinforce ideological and political work it is necessary to resume the good traditions of the ideological and political work of the party in the long revolutionary struggle and construction. For a prolonged period, the petroleum industry has focused the attention of staff members and workers on education in patriotism, socialism, independence and autonomy, and plain living and hard struggle. This kind of education is not empty talk, but merges ideological and political work with production, scientific research, management, and the lives of staff members and workers. It understands the staff members' and workers' work and thinking and solves the problem with a set purpose. It plays up and exemplifies the advanced with great fanfare, patiently and meticulously helps the transformation of the backward, defends and gives attention to the proper atmosphere, attacks bad and improper habits, has a full understanding of the masses' suffering, is concerned with the masses' lives, helps to solve their actual problems, serves as the intimate friend of the populace, leads the cadres in sternly governing themselves, acting in an exemplary manner being ahead of others in plain living and working hard, and so on and so forth. Only by so doing can good results be reaped and can the applause and welcome of the masses be won. Naturally, following development of the reform and opening to the outside world, this methodology still needs to be continuously renovated, enriched, and enhanced; but irrespective of the changes made in form and method, the good tradition of the party's ideological and political work cannot be changed. Some people, on the pretext of reform, have tried to lower and downgrade the good tradition of the party's ideological and political work and make a wholesale refutation of history. This is entirely erroneous.

The management of the cadres by the party has been a tradition. In recent years, the appointment and dismissal of administrative cadres in the enterprises have been in the hands of the plant director, who nominates and decides; his words alone have been sufficient. If this practice is continued, party spirit and the organization concept of party cadres will be weakened, and may be worsened to become an abnormal relationship of personal subordination and adherence. This is extremely

dangerous. This problem has a bearing on how to strengthen the party's leadership and is well worth studying.

#### **Marxism Teaches the Truth in Revolution and Also Guides Science in Construction**

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are the theoretical basis in guiding our ideology. Only in combining the basic theories of Marxism with the realities of China's modernization can we build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Marxism is not an ossified doctrine. It develops along with the era's development, but the basic theories definitely cannot be refuted. The small number of people championing "bourgeois liberalism" energetically propagated Marxism-Leninism as being "outdated;" they attacked Marxism-Leninism as being "ossified", "narrow-minded," and incapable of guiding the solution of China's current problems. For a time, whoever preached Marxism and whoever propagated dialectical materialism were laughed at, and considered as "not suited to the times"; whereas those propagating the many kinds of "doctrines" and "thoughts" of the West were considered fashionable. The appearance in a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party of such a phenomenon of turning things upside down must be said to be nonsense. The essence of this wave of thinking is the attempt to basically refute the party's leadership, socialism, and the theoretical foundation that has led our enterprise to triumph, and is meant to open the way with loud fanfare for pushing "all-round Westernization."

Is it true that Marxism can solve only the problems of the period of the war of revolution and not the problems of socialist modernization? The 40 years of history of the petroleum industry can provide us with an answer. The petroleum industry is an enterprise with a strong probing and investigative nature, and is also risky. Oil and gas deposits several thousand meters underground are the targets of the work. The ability to correctly assess the underground geological conditions and to grasp the objective laws covering changes in the oilfields, has an important bearing on success or failure in petroleum prospecting and development. Hence, in the development of the petroleum industry, the infallible method is to employ materialism and the dialectics of Marxism throughout to guide us to correctly understand the objective world, and to further transform the objective world.

In 1960, as soon as the Daqing campaign, or the battle for oil, began, the party committee in charge of the campaign advocated learning the "two theories," (theory of contradiction and theory of actual practice) and the use of the ideological method of dialectical materialism to analyze and solve the various problems arising in the course of the campaign. This demand was not without basis. It was a rethinking of the many ways of doing things which were in violation of the objective laws at the time of the great leap forward; and it was also a rectification of the erroneous and unscientific methods used previously to extract oil. It was precisely because of the

use of "two theories" as guidance, adherence to concepts of practice and development, the use of a large number of firsthand materials as a foundation, and by thoroughly and meticulously studying and analyzing various contradictory and complex environments surrounding the oilfields, formulating correct exploration guidelines, was it possible within barely 3 and 1/2 years to accomplish the construction of a large, first-rate oilfield. At the same time, crude-oil exploration and development guidelines were created that were suitable to China's national conditions. It can be said that the successes of the campaign in the Daqing oilfield and in the subsequent series of similar oilfield campaigns was due to the firm adherence to Marxist theory of understanding.

To discover an underground oilfield, and to develop it successfully is an undertaking that requires a high level of scientific knowledge. It is necessary to firmly insist on the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, and not depend on subjective ideas in doing things or indulging in metaphysics. In the prospecting of a certain area, and in the development of an oilfield, it is not possible to achieve success at one stroke. Only through actual practices, gaining an understanding, going through actual practice again, and acquiring further understanding, is it possible to continuously tap the hidden potential of an oilfield, and to continuously discover and open up new prospecting areas. For example, in the eastern part of our country, the geological condition of dual oil- and gas-bearing regions is extremely complicated, and it was only through many years of investigation and repeated actual practice that we were able to finally gain definite understanding of the laws governing this kind of broken pieces of oil-pool clusters with many layers of rich oil deposits, adopting a method of roving prospecting and developing, and, eventually, succeeded in doubling the ascertained deposit volume and production volume of crude oil in the Shengli oilfield. Again, for example, at the initial period of Daqing's campaign for oil, its total geological deposits were assessed at 2.6 billion tons. In the subsequent prolonged period of development and actual practice, through a continuous study of the trend of changes in the oilfield structure and the active application of new technology, which made it possible to tap the thin oil strata originally thought to have been worthless, the crude oil geological deposit was further assessed at more than 4 billion tons. Over the past 30 years, the accumulated volume of oil extracted amounted to some one billion tons, and the high peak of average annual production of 50 million tons was maintained for a period of 14 years; it is anticipated that the stability period could be further extended through more hard work. This has seldom been seen in the history of oil extraction in the normally high-yield large oilfields elsewhere in the world. All these successes would have been unimaginable if we had adopted the method of subjectivism and ideas of metaphysics, isolatedly and statically observing things. This once more eloquently testified to the enormous force of the application of dialectical materialism in industrial construction.

**Depending on the Working Class To Perform a Good Job in Enterprise Management and Building Up Our Country's Own Enterprise Management System**

In enterprise management, do we have our own successful experiences and should we entirely refute ourselves and copy and transfer everything from foreign countries? One viewpoint holds that only foreign experts can manage enterprises well, while the Chinese cannot, and that all foreign enterprise management methods are advanced, while China's methods are backward. The conclusion is that the only way is to copy and transfer en masse the management experiences of the West. Another viewpoint holds that over the 40 years since the founding of the PRC, we have accumulated rich experiences in enterprise management and that they should be systematically summarized. The purpose for earnestly learning foreign countries' advanced scientific management methods is to enrich and perfect our experiences, and to form an enterprise management system that conforms to China's national conditions, and is definitely not to negate the strong points of our own management methods. The essential difference between these two viewpoints lies in on whom and on what, after all, do socialist enterprises depend for management? Do they rely on the working class (including the technicians) or on a small number of people? Should the working class be treated as the principal body of the enterprise and be allowed to fully display their role as the masters of the house, or should they be treated as ordinary hirelings? To manage enterprises well, we have relied on the management method of the line of the populace, on the working class's sense of responsibility as masters of the house, on the masses' high degree of ideological consciousness and nature of abiding by organized discipline, and not on money or oppression. This is the essential difference between socialist enterprise management and capitalist enterprise management.

In enterprise management we should play up the guiding role of the working class and stir up their sense of responsibility as masters of the house; we cannot count on slogans alone, but must formulate measures and systems to ensure it. The long-term actual practices of the Daqing oilfield discovered a set of effective measures, the principal of which are: 1) In ideology, educate the staff members and workers to clarify the nature of a socialist enterprise, such as for whom does the worker toil and what is the purpose and significance of work? They should know clearly their own status and role as masters of the house. 2) In production management, set up a management system with the post responsibility system as the center. Not only does each and every worker have definite duties and responsibilities, but so do the plant director and those in command of the political and working personages at various levels. In execution, not only do the organs inspect the grassroots-level units, but the workers also inspect, supervise, and lead the organs, and emphasis is laid on the soul of the post responsibility system as the post's sense of responsibility, on a clear understanding of duties and responsibility, and on a stern and strict manifestation of

consciousness. 3) Democratic management must be enforced and the worker's status as master of the house must be fully respected; the three big democracies of production, technology, and economy must be carried out; important problems must be discussed in staff member and workers representative meetings so that the correct viewpoints may be centralized on a democratic basis, and the enthusiasm of the staff members and workers as masters of the house may be fully aroused. 4) In the management of material resources and finance, the business accounting system must be strictly enforced at various levels, right down to the teams and individual posts, while, internally, between the various units of the enterprise, cashier checks must be used in settlement, and the workers themselves must be depended on for financial administration and to work in a capable and meticulous manner. 5) In regard to the quality of the engineering work, the quality responsibility system, which combines self inspection, reciprocal inspection, and inspection by special functionaries, must be firmly insisted upon, possible and hidden incidents must be avoided before they can arise, and reliance must be placed on the workers to take good care of the problem of quality. 6) In the management of the staff members' and workers' livelihood, the masses' sufferings must always be understood and help given to them and their family members to solve their difficult problems, to make them feel and consider the enterprise as their home. 7) The leadership organs of the enterprises firmly insist on "facing three directions and visiting the spot on five occasions",<sup>2</sup> they devote heart and mind to serving the first line of production, overcome bureaucraticism, and oppose the "yamen" atmosphere and behavior. 8) In education, establishment of a professional fostering and training system for workers currently under employment, technicians, and specialized cadres, and an educational system that extends from the kindergarten, primary school, middle school, and technical school to the petroleum institute. In ordinary times, grasp the basic training of the post employees and workers, and enhance the cultural, scientific, and technical quality of the staff members and workers. 9) In the selection of cadres, importance is attached to examination of political ideology, character, and work performance, and attention is directed to training up and selecting grassroots-level cadres from among the outstanding workers, and to selection of leadership cadres from among the outstanding cadres so that the role of the working class may be better displayed in the enterprises. And, 10) in ideological behavior, the low-standard, easygoing, and poor behavior in daily work is rectified and the good behavior of the "three honesties and four principles"<sup>3</sup> is upheld.

The pivotal problem of the creation of this set of enterprise management experiences by the Daqing oilfield is to build rigid management and rigid demands on the foundation of the workers' high degree of consciousness and on the foundation of the mass line. The responsibilities of the leadership of an enterprise lie precisely in enlightening and training the spirit of being masters on the part of the workers, and stirring up their

enthusiasm of acting like masters of the house, so that the contingents of staff members and workers may become closely organized, highly disciplined fighting groups and units, and outstandingly complete their various tasks. These methods manifest the methods of "coming from the masses and going to the masses"; the combination of ordinary calls with individual guidance, the principle of uniting the leading cadre with masses. Because they are in conformity with China's national conditions and the realities of the enterprises, they have a strong life force in actual practice. Naturally, we should not reject the advanced management experiences of foreign countries. Earnestly learning from and copying these experiences will benefit our more scientifically and rationally organized production. Nevertheless, China's enterprise management must take root on China's soil and we must take others' strong points to improve our work points, so that we can perfect and form our own management system and methods.

#### **Taking Ourselves as the Principle Link, Learn and Introduce Foreign Advanced Scientific Technology and Strengthen Our Own Ability in Self-Regeneration and Renovation**

As Comrade Xiaoping point out, science and technology are the first productive forces. The 40 years of experience in development of the petroleum industry have attested to this great truth. Each and every step in the development of the petroleum industry has been connected to the learning and grasping of advanced science and technology. During the period of the 1960's, Daqing oilfield seriously studied the different experiences of foreign countries in oilfield development and created the development techniques that were suited to its own special features, such as water injection in advance, water injection into separate layers, and oil extraction from separate layers. These were all up to the international standards of the time. The oil refining industry also absorbed the world's advanced technology, established and transformed a set of equipment, accomplished the "five golden flowers,"<sup>4</sup> and thus laid the foundation for the all-round elevation of the level of our country's oil refining industry. From the 1970's, it introduced and grasped a set of mathematical earthquake equipment and large petrochemical equipment, thus greatly enhancing the technological level of oil prospecting and the petrochemical industry in our country. In the 1980's, following the large-scale opening up to the outside world, cooperation with foreign countries was enforced in offshore oil prospecting. A large amount of foreign capital was absorbed and foreign advanced technologies in offshore oil prospecting and development, as well as experiences in management and operation, were learned and grasped. In recent years, the petroleum industry received two special awards for scientific research accomplishments from the state, while over 1,000 scientific research projects were given awards of the national and departmental grades. Facts have shown that, under the current conditions of the ever-changing and rapidly developing world technologies, if the leadership of an enterprise does not look at the problem of

scientific technology with strategic foresight and does not break through the key technologies which are of decisive significance to the enterprise, then it will be very difficult to change the countenance of the enterprise's production and the enterprise will forever remain in a passive and backward state.

Seen from the petroleum industry, to speed up the development of science and technology it is necessary to solve the relations between learning and creating. Our country is a developing one. Generally speaking, our technological level is low. To build a modernized nation we must actively introduce advanced foreign technology and equipment and we should by no means close our doors and lock ourselves up. But introducing advanced technology is for the purpose of strengthening our country's ability in regeneration, which indeed should be our important guiding thought. Those methods of disregarding the country's domestic needs and blindly introducing any technology that is foreign and those measures of failing to digest or develop technologies that have already been introduced are all extremely erroneous. In our introduction of technologies, we should insist on three principles: 1) We must start from reality, introduce what we most need in technology, and after introduction ask some special people to take charge, to earnestly study the technology, and to grasp it, and become adept in its operation and control. 2) On top of the foundation of grasping advanced technology, it is also necessary to develop and create one's own new technology. 3) We must learn from the new technology and make our own discoveries. Only by so doing can we conform to the guideline of decontrol and letting in something new, and at the same time be independent, self-decisionmaking, and engage in regeneration.

In speeding up the development of science and technology, we must put into full play the role of the main forces of scientific and technical personnel. Regarding its technicians, Daqing oilfield carried out the guideline of "fully trusting them politically, giving them a free hand in work, and treating their lives with warm concern." To enhance their ability in actual work and to train their compassion and feelings for the working class, all new college graduates must first be assigned to the first line of production and scientific research for several years of training. They are encouraged in their work to climb the highest peak in the world's sciences and technology and to create various kinds of conditions. Strong support is given to their worth, so they can fully display their endeavors in inventions and experiments. Regarding big and important technological problems, the democratic spirit is always displayed, large group discussion meetings are held and the "three-in-one combination" methods are adopted in studies, and in attacking problems. Workers are always organized to put in operation the new plans and new discoveries of the technicians, so as to change them speedily into accomplished productive forces. By so doing, the technicians feel their own worth, can fully display their wisdom and talents, merge their individual desires with the revolutionary enterprise and

with the glory of the entire group, and thus make important contributions to the development of petroleum technology.

#### **Maintain and Display the Tradition of Plain Living and Hard Struggle**

Recently Comrade Xiaoping pointed out, "Plain living and hard struggle are our traditions, and education on plain living and frugality must be tightly grasped from now on, to last for 60 to 70 years. The more our country is developed, the greater is the need to grasp plain living and building anew." Unfortunately, in recent years, some people have openly criticized plain living and hard struggle, advocated so-called "super-consumption," and wanted to use high consumption to stimulate production, spent large amounts of foreign exchange to buy consumer goods for luxurious living, and caused various capitalist ideas to run rampant, such as the bad habits of seeking enjoyment, living a luxurious and extravagant life, looking at everything for money's sake, and individual egoism, thus aggravating the phenomena of law violation, breaking discipline, and corruption. All this completely deviated from our country's realities, went against the tradition of the plain living and frugality of our working class, and had extremely bad consequences.

Starting from its own special features, the petroleum industry has always taken plain living and hard struggle as the main topic in educating its staff members and workers, particularly the younger people. It has attached great importance to using the advanced examples and advanced ideas of the older generation of heroes and exemplary people of fearing no hardship, despising difficulties, never making any harsh demands, but always endeavoring to contribute and to serve the people wholeheartedly in educating the new generation of workers to the end that the good tradition may be passed on generation to generation. The actual practice of plain living and construction has gradually formed the traditional habit and enterprise spirit of the petroleum enterprise. This spirit is to make hard efforts to become strong, regeneration through one's own efforts, and to take practical actions to demonstrate the Chinese people's spirit of patriotism and feeling of racial self-pride. It is a revolutionary spirit which is fearless, brave to take up responsibilities, and ready to depend on one's two hands to withstand trials and to build; is a spirit that is straightforward, eulogizes science, is honest in life, in words and in deeds, strictly demanding, well-organized, serene in attitude and stern in discipline, and does work in a down-to-earth manner. And it is also a spirit of always having the whole situation in mind, forgetting one's self in work, sharing trials and difficulties with the state, and is sacrificial and disregards one's own gain or loss. This spirit is the concrete manifestation of the party's revolutionary tradition in the new era, the concrete manifestation of the superior quality of the Chinese working class, and, all in all, offers the spiritual support of the staff members and workers of the petroleum industry in their obstinate fight against odds and sailing against the wind. Numerous facts show that man must

have a certain spirit, and that an enterprise without spiritual support is an enterprise without a soul. And these spirits, ideals, and ventures are formed gradually from the inculcation of Marxist theories, from tempering through the day-to-day hard trials in life, and by not compromising with and continuing to struggle against the various kinds and shades of ideas of the capitalist class. The leader of an enterprise must make himself exemplary, continuously educate the staff members and workers in Marxism, train their spirit, and establish ideals and pursuits.

The stress on simple living and hard struggle is by no mean unmindful of the livelihood of the staff members and workers. On the contrary, it is grasping production with one hand and living with the other. In the initial period of Daqing's campaign for oil, when tens of thousands of people were struggling against odds in the grassland, some people, without having a clear knowledge how the search for oil would eventually work out, actually advocated the building of a petroleum city. Against such ideas, which were deviations from reality, we advocated the guideline of "production first, living afterwards." First of all, we centralized manpower, material resources, financial power, found the oil deposit volume, and accomplished the building of an oilfield. At the same time, we suited measures to local conditions, built a large number of temporary sheds, and solved the residence problem of the staff members and workers. We organized the family of staff members and workers to open up barren land, undertook agricultural sideline production, solved the food and eating problem, and enabled the campaign's fighting contingents to plant their feet and be rooted on the barren land. This was a reasonable way of doing things. But some people wrongly blasphemed this correct guideline of frugality and called it "grasping only production and disregarding living," or "grasping production first and living afterward," even to the extent of declaring that all was "production for production's sake." Following the discovery of the oilfield's deposit volume and the development of production, the standard of living of the staff members and workers was greatly improved and a number of oil cities and towns were built. These facts repudiated the erroneous viewpoint of those who split up production development and improving the standard of living.

State-run large and medium-sized enterprises are the main forces in the country's economic construction. Under the current difficult conditions, it is all the more necessary to regard the situation as a whole, and to consciously pass the days in frugality. It is necessary to rely on the spirit of being masters of the house of the working class, correctly handle the relationships between the state, the collective and the individual, and correctly implement the principle of distribution according to work. The state's policies and standards on salaries, wages, and awards must be rigidly carried out. Never should we seek the interests of the small group or of the individual at the expense of the interests of the state. We must resolutely overcome the current malicious practices of super-consumption, competing with each other

in spending and extravagance, and unjust distribution, and solidly embrace frugality, economy, and honesty in construction. Even though production has developed, conditions have changed for the better, and the standard of living has improved, the spirit of simple living and hard toil should never be abandoned. Rather, we should work even harder, further improve the quality of our production and construction, and demand that we be even stricter. The revolutionary spirit of simple living and hard toil should be introduced into creating the first-rate level in science and technology and in enterprise management.

These experiences of the petroleum industry were interfered with in the course of the Great Cultural Revolution. In recent years, as a result of the attack launched by bourgeois liberalism, the ideology of a portion of the staff members and workers was disrupted and the party's leadership and ideological and political work were also weakened in varying degrees. Certain good traditions were abandoned and certain malicious practices appeared and grew. This was one of the reasons for the slow development of the petroleum industry in recent years. For this reason, in the petroleum system we must earnestly implement the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and intensively carry out education in one center and two basic points, restore and display good traditions, and, on the precondition of firmly insisting on the four cardinal principles, further deepen the reform, enforce opening to the outside world, and thus make contributions to the socialist modernization program.

#### Footnotes

1. It took the United States from 1860 to 1935, and Mexico from 1907 to 1982, to increase their crude oil output volume from 120,000 tons to 130 million tons.
2. Face to the masses, to the grassroots level, and to production; production command, political work, supply of material resources, scientific and technological planning and services to livelihood designated and directed to the spot.
3. Be an honest person, speak honest words, and do honest deeds; make rigorous demands, make close and tight organizations, assume a solemn and earnest attitude, and enforce strict and impartial discipline.
4. Referring to the world's new techniques in oil refining in the 1960's: platinum refixing, catalytic cracking, delayed coking, hydrocracking, and urea dewaxing.

#### The Policy of Reform and Opening Up and Guangdong's Economic Development

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 89 pp 27-32

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#### Rethink Seriously, Strengthen Earnestly Ideological and Political Work

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[Article by Quan Shuren 0356 2885 0088, secretary of Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's ideological and political work has been very arduous, and the situation has never been so complicated. On the one hand, due to the damage done by Lin Biao and the gang of four, many ideas and theories that have been distorted are badly in need of clarification. Some "leftist" practices need to be corrected, and the party's fine traditions and work style need to be restored and carried forward. On the other hand, the rapidly unfolding socialist modernization drive, and the policy of reform and opening the country to the outside world have put forward many new and much more arduous tasks. Against this backdrop, Comrade Zhao Ziyang adopted an erroneous attitude toward ideological and political work, thereby seriously undermining the party's efforts in this regard. This has inevitably produced a series of extremely grave consequences. In a sense, the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion are precisely the bitter fruits of our neglect and weakening of ideological and political work over the past years.

The 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee corrected the mistakes made by Comrade Zhao Ziyang and put forward four important tasks for the whole party, one of which is to earnestly enhance ideological and political work. A lot has happened in the last decade. Now that the contradictions have been fully exposed, we can see the problems much more clearly. The conditions for solving these problems have ripened, and we must grasp this golden opportunity to strengthen ideological and political work. Under the leadership of the party's Central Committee and using the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session as our guide, we must earnestly sum up past experience and lessons and enhance our understanding in the light of actual work in order to effectively strengthen the party's ideological and political work in an all-round way.

#### I

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party began effecting a strategic shift in the focus of its work from "taking class struggle as the key link" to making economic development our central task, and concentrated its efforts on socialist modernization. This represents an important historical turning point. No doubt such a shift will inevitably bring about a series of fundamental changes in the work of the whole party as well as in the political and social life of the state. After the shift in work focus, is it still necessary to strengthen the party's leadership? How should the

party's leadership be strengthened? What is the relationship between taking economic development as our central task and the party's ideological and political work? These are the questions that we were first confronted with, questions that have never been properly resolved in actual work. Some comrades one-sidedly summed up experience and lessons and moved from one extreme to the other. In the course of correcting "leftist" mistakes, there developed the tendency to neglect and weaken the party's leadership and to totally deny ideological and political work, with the result that the guiding ideology moved away from the party's correct line. This was an important reason why the party's leadership on the ideological front slackened and ideological and political work weakened.

In terms of ideological understanding, this situation was the result of one-sidedness in two respects. The first is one-sidedness in people's understanding of the party's overall task. According to the 13th National Party Congress, the party's overall task for the new period is as follows: "To lead the people of all our nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intensive, and pioneering effort to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and modern socialist country by making economic development our central task while adhering to the four cardinal principles and persevering in reform and the open policy." To fulfill this task, we must firmly grasp the central task, energetically develop the productive forces, and strive to make China economically strong and capable of catching up with the developed countries by the middle of the next century. At the same time, we must also bring up a new generation of better-educated and self-disciplined people with high ideals and moral integrity through unremitting ideological education and the strengthening of spiritual development. In this way, our society will have a clear direction of advance, lofty moral values, and a healthy system of democracy and law, as well as well-developed science and culture. In other words, the overall task covers both material and spiritual development, which is our party's strategic objective for the overall progress and comprehensive development of our society. However, some of our comrades regarded this strategic objective as a simple process of economic development, a mere task for the promotion of material production and scientific and technological advancement. Hence, the party's task in the ideological and political spheres was seriously neglected.

The second one-sidedness refers to one-sidedness in people's understanding of the position and role of the party's ideological and political work. Fundamentally speaking, the party's ideological and political work means arming the masses with the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and teaching them to understand their own fundamental interests and to unite and fight for the realization of these interests. In socialist modernization, the party's ideological and political work comprises two aspects. On the one hand, the party must arouse and stimulate the historical initiative

and creativity of the masses and turn these into a powerful spiritual drive for the realization of the four modernizations. On the other hand, it must, through education in the need to adhere to the four cardinal principles, provide a powerful ideological guarantee for adherence to the correct direction in socialist modernization. These two aspects should have been united. However, some comrades only saw the first role and overlooked the latter. This caused them to abandon the principle of party spirit of ideological and political work, and to neglect and weaken the political attributes of ideological and political work.

Because of these two points of one-sided understanding, some comrades failed to return to the party's correct line and correct stand of dialectical materialism after putting right the theory that "the spirit is all powerful" and the concept of "voluntarism" advocated by Lin Biao and the gang of four. Instead, they adopted a nihilist and liquidationist attitude toward ideological and political work. This led to confusion in ideological and political work.

First, ideological and political work is regarded only as a concrete means for promoting economic work. As a means to an end, it was regarded as optional, used only when economic targets fell short, but cast aside once these targets were attained. No wonder there was the saying that "ideological and political work is like a ragged blanket, hung on to when needed, but kicked aside when not needed." Recently, our province cracked a case of bribe-taking involving more than 200,000 yuan. The culprits were Xiong Jiaqing, director of Liaoyang Textiles Factory, and his wife. In a meeting to help the workers sum up experience and lessons, I heard some comrades say: "We people at the grassroots level know only that we work for Director Xiong, and that Director Xiong pays us money. We do not talk about any other things." This simple remark made by our worker comrades shows how seriously ideological and political work has been weakened. If this goes on, our socialist enterprises are bound to degenerate.

Second, in the process of fulfilling economic tasks, attention is paid only to administrative orders, economic punishments, and disciplinary actions, but not to ideological education, ideological counseling, the mass line, and the party organization. The practice of the factory director responsibility system in enterprises and the establishment of the administrative authority of the director are beneficial to the exercise of centralized and unified direction in production and operation, which is an objective requirement of modern, large-scale production. We will continue to adhere to this practice in the future. However, giving the factory director greater administrative power by no means implies the downgrading of ideological and political work. The increase of administrative power and the strengthening of ideological and political work should go hand in hand. Some comrades were not clear about this. They ran enterprises by simply relying on administrative orders, economic punishment, and disciplinary means. Over the years, a

number of cases involving the murder of factory directors (managers) were reported in our province. At the time these occurred, some comrades thought they were political murders resulting from disagreements between those who supported reform and those who were against it. The truth was, some of these cases were caused by the neglect of ideological and political work and the mishandling of specific issues, which culminated in the sharpening of contradictions. When we went to a unit to conduct investigations, an old worker said to us: "He was a good factory director. How could he have been killed? And the young man who killed him has always been a fine lad. How could he have killed anyone? If you ask me, I would say it was all because you people decided to recall the party branch secretary (the post was taken up concurrently by the factory director after the transfer). Had someone been there to conduct ideological work, such a thing would never have happened." What an apt criticism that was! Our enterprises are socialist enterprises. Should we not take warning from this bitter lesson resulting from the tension between the leadership and the workers?

Third, the line between right and wrong is confused. In assessing the work of an enterprise or its operator, people often look only at the fulfillment of economic targets, not how they are fulfilled, how spiritual development is carried out, or whether socialist orientation is adhered to. When the targets are attained, all other faults or mistakes are forgotten. Xiong Jiaqing, the factory director mentioned above, had many laurels to his credit. He was a labor model, an outstanding entrepreneur, recipient of the "1 May" labor award, and so on. How did he win these titles? On the basis of economic targets and economic performance, of course. The masses had a clear idea of the kind of person he was. They did not vote for him when electing their deputy to the district People's Congress. Nonetheless, he was elected deputy to the city People's Congress because city deputies were elected indirectly. This problem must give us some deep food for thought. If we allow this to go on, the criteria of right and wrong will be confused and the general mood of society will become foul. This will spell danger.

In the final analysis, one-sidedness in matters of ideology and problems that occur in actual work are due to our muddled or wavering theoretical understanding. The idea of taking productive forces as the criterion is vulgarized into the oversimplistic approach of assessing everything by means of economic targets, and the idea of the economic base determining the superstructure is vulgarized into the view that ideological and political work would fall into place when economic work is properly carried out. Marxism maintains that the economic base determines the superstructure and that the superstructure in turn reacts dynamically on the economic base. This relationship of determining and being determined, action and reaction is a dialectical process of development, not a mechanical movement. It is a basic principle of historical materialism. Here, the economic base is the sum of economic relations, and refers

mainly to the economic system. Thus, we cannot oversimplistically equate the economic base with concrete economic work, and interpret the relationship between economic work and ideological-political work as the relationship between that which determines and that which is determined. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, repeatedly affirmed the importance of ideological and political work. He said: "After shifting the focus of work to economic development, the whole party must study how to strengthen its ideological work to suit the new conditions, and must guard against the tendency to engross ourselves in economic work and neglect ideological work."<sup>1</sup> In the course of rethinking the past, we must make an earnest effort to study and understand the views consistently advocated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, apply the basic tenets of Marxism to put right the position and role of ideological and political work, and put ideological and political work in an important place on the agenda of the party's work.

## II

The policy of reform and opening to the outside world is the basic policy put forward at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as well as one of the two basic points of the party line. At present, as in the future, we must unswervingly uphold this policy and persevere in taking this road to a stronger nation. To do a good job of reform and opening up, an important condition is ideological emancipation. Unless the mind is liberated, we will be not be able to break away from the shackles of rules and regulations and book worship. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The hopes of achieving the four modernizations will fall short if we do not break away from ossified thinking and greatly emancipate the minds of the cadres and the masses."<sup>2</sup>

What is the relationship between the emancipation of the mind and the strengthening of ideological and political work? This is a question that we have failed to handle properly in the decade of reform and opening up. Our wavering on this question has been an important cause of the weakening of the party's ideological and political work and the repeated onslaught of bourgeois liberalization.

This is also due to one-sidedness in two respects. One is one-sidedness in our understanding of reform and opening up, the other is one-sidedness in our understanding of ideological emancipation. The reform we carry out is the self-perfection of the socialist system (the opening up is, in fact, part of the reform). It does not seek to fundamentally change the socialist system. All it seeks to accomplish is elimination of the drawbacks and defects in the existing system that are not suited to the development of the socialist commodity economy, thereby adding vigor and vitality to the socialist system. In other words, no matter what new measures, new methods, or new policies we adopt, we must adhere to

the socialist orientation and conform to socialist principles. This is the precondition. Some people often overlook this precondition and even blindly copy capitalist practices. They regard the four cardinal principles as restrictive, and invariably try to break through such restrictions. There is also such a tendency in the matter of ideological emancipation. What does emancipation of the mind mean? As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, ideological emancipation means achieving correspondence between thinking and reality, and between the subjective and the objective; in other words, seeking truth from facts. "What we mean by emancipation of the mind is to smash the shackles of the forces of habit and subjective prejudices, to study the new situation, and to solve new problems under the guidance of Marxism. Emancipation of the mind must not depart from the four cardinal principles and must not harm the political situation of stability, unity, vigor, and vitality."<sup>3</sup> In other words, emancipation of the mind does not mean indulging in wild fantasy. It requires effort to understand and grasp the truth by scientific means. Just as there is nothing in this world that is absolutely free of restrictions, there is also a question of "limits" here. Outside these limits, ideological emancipation will turn into its opposite. However, some people were bent on breaking through these limits. What they really wanted was to depart from the guidance of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to break away from the party's leadership in the sphere of political thinking and in the ideological field.

One-sidedness in thinking causes some comrades to regard adherence to the four cardinal principles and emancipation of the mind as opposites. In recent years, on the ideological and theoretical front, anyone who upheld the four cardinal principles was regarded as conservative and square and subjected to ridicule and attack. Anyone who criticized and waged struggle against bourgeois liberalization was accused of wielding a big stick against others and putting labels on others. Anyone who waged unbridled attacks against the four cardinal principles was looked upon as a "brave and strong man in emancipating the mind" and was welcomed. Anyone who was criticized for persistently spreading bourgeois liberalization was sure to win sympathy, even respect. For this reason, those who were criticized became popular, while those who defended the four cardinal principles became isolated. Meanwhile, in the course of reform and opening up, some comrades who were one-sided in their understanding lost their vigilance against the encirclement and politically subversive activities of international capitalism, as well as against the infiltration of decadent ideas and culture. Because of their lack of resistance, decadent capitalist ideas flooded in. When the effects of this international macroclimate and the effects of the domestic microclimate are combined, even if the party's ideological and political work is not crushed, it will be very difficult to effectively strengthen this work.

Hence, in the course of reform and opening up, we must always see to it that the relationship between adherence

to the four cardinal principles and strengthening the party's ideological and political work on the one hand, and emancipation of the mind on the other is properly handled. The crux of the task of strengthening the party's ideological and political work lies in arming the masses with advanced ideas and a scientific world outlook in order to enhance their ability to know and transform the world. Emancipation of the mind cannot do without the guidance of a scientific world outlook and methodology. We emphasize the need to adhere to the four cardinal principles and to insist on taking Marxism as the guide because we want to give people a powerful ideological weapon for knowing and transforming the objective world, because we want to make sure that in the course of emancipating the mind, we will be able to break through the miasma, recognize the essence of things, find solutions to problems, and continuously achieve the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. Hence, adherence to the four cardinal principles and emancipation of the mind are completely in harmony with each other. The Marxist world outlook and methodology is by nature revolutionary and critical and is against the tendency to be conservative and square. It has never claimed that it has exhausted the truth. Rather, it only opens up an avenue for knowing the truth. How can anyone think that adherence to Marxism is conservative and square? Reform and opening up no doubt have given new content to the four cardinal principles. However, this new content only reflects the new requirements and new developments of these principles under the new situation. It does not fundamentally negate the four cardinal principles. Hence, adherence to the four cardinal principles will not impose restrictions on the emancipation of the mind. To the contrary, it is the objective requirement of reform and opening up and will promote the emancipation of the mind. Only when we think and act along this line will we be able to put adherence to the four cardinal principles and the strengthening of ideological and political work in the correct perspectives and ensure the healthy development of ideological emancipation. Otherwise, people's thinking will once again be confused and become muddled. The recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion have taught us a lesson in blood. We must not let this tragedy repeat itself.

### III

In the long years of revolution and construction, our party has developed a fine set of traditions and style in conducting ideological and political work. It is our magic weapon for defeating the enemy, overcoming difficulties, and winning victories. It is also where our real superiority lies. Under the new situation of reform, opening the country to the outside world, and socialist modernization, is it still necessary to inherit and carry forward the party's fine traditions? How should we handle the relations between inheritance and innovation? These are problems we have come across from time to time in the last 10 years, and problems that must be solved in our present effort to strengthen the party's ideological and political work.

Here, the important issue is how to look at traditions. No doubt some specific practices during the war years have to be changed due to changes in the situation and our tasks. Practices like "taking class struggle as the key link" and "giving prominence to politics" must naturally be abandoned. However, this does not mean that the fine traditions of the party's ideological and political work have become obsolete. By their very nature, the fine traditions and successful experience of the party's ideological and political work are still applicable today. For instance, we should still uphold the party's leadership and the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, persist in integrating theory with practice in the mass line, and persevere in educating the masses in the basic tenets of Marxism and the party's correct line. We should persevere in conducting education in patriotism, revolutionary heroism, and arduous struggle, and insist on combining ideological work with various vocational tasks. We must also persevere in giving full scope to the role of the party as the political core, the role of party branches as fighting bastions, and the role of party members as vanguards and models, and persevere in carrying out ideological and political work on every household and individual, and so on. Under the new situation, these fine traditions and styles of work still need to be inherited, adhered to, and carried forward. However, all these fine traditions have been cast to the wind in recent years under Comrade Zhao Ziyang's call to reform ideological and political work. It seems that anything traditional must be "leftist." For instance, on the question of conducting education in the basic tenets of Marxism and the party's line, principles, and policies among the cadres and the masses, some comrades regarded holding meetings, making reports, organizing group study, and direct means of "inculcation" as formalist. Of course, political education must be conducted in a lively manner to achieve more effective results. However, it does not mean that we could abandon the necessary forms and cater to the interests of the masses by doing away with the study of Marxist theory and the party's line, principles, and policies. Take education in arduous struggle as another example. Some people said: "We are already living in the 1980's. What do we need the old ideas of the 1950's for?" As a result, arduous struggle and frugality were rarely talked about, and were even looked down upon and jeered at by some young people. This could only encourage the spread of extravagant and decadent ways, such as going in for ostentation and parading one's wealth. For a further example, take criticism of and education in certain erroneous ideas among the masses. Some people regarded this as seizing on people's mistakes, putting labels on others, and wielding the big stick, which are "vestiges of the Cultural Revolution." As a result, erroneous remarks spread unchecked and caused serious confusion in people's understanding. It must be pointed out that taking a nihilist approach toward traditions and neglecting and even abandoning ideological and political work is not a simple work problem. If allowed to go on, it will lead to the fundamental negation, even liquidation, of the party's leadership and will force the party out of the

ideological and political sphere. Unless we look at the problem this way, we will make political mistakes.

Next is the question of innovation. Following changes in the situation and our tasks, the fine traditions of the party's ideological and political work will continuously be given new contents. We must continuously sum up new experience and create new methods in accordance with new developments in practice. Only in this way can ideological and political work provide a powerful guarantee for socialist modernization. In the past years, our party organizations at various levels have created some very useful experiences in the course of actual work. These include the fostering of the enterprise spirit, establishment of enterprise culture, launching of two-way exchange, promotion of self-education, and launching of joint endeavors by armymen and the people. We must continue to sum up and popularize these successful experiences and practices. However, on the question of innovation, there are two tendencies that deserve our attention. One is the tendency to totally negate traditions and cast away successful experience already gained in order to carry out the so-called "innovation." The practice of disbanding or shelving a team of experienced political workers and organizing a so-called "new setup" in fact means the total negation of the party's ideological and political work. Another problem is that, while we have to learn from and draw on some of the advanced management experience, which includes assimilation of new scientific knowledge and the creation of new methods, new methods cannot replace the fundamental task of ideological and political work. We must not simply invest our feelings and try to replace education in adherence to the four cardinal principles with coordination of interpersonal relations. Over the last few years, it was not true that we had not carried out any ideological work. It was only that we had paid little or no attention to political principles, orientation, and stand. In making innovations, we cannot totally negate traditions or overlook the fact that ideological and political work is our fundamental task. Only by taking a correct approach to tradition and making innovations in a scientific manner can we improve our work and continuously upgrade the level of the party's ideological and political work.

In the last few years, due to the erroneous influence of Comrade Zhao Ziyang, our understanding of the party's ideological and political work went through several twists and turns. Work was seriously affected, and we were taught a profound lesson. Liaoning was relatively quiet during the period when turmoil occurred in some localities and counterrevolutionary rebellion broke out in Beijing. The party organizations at various levels in our province were operating smoothly and were able to issue commands without any problems. Ideological and political work played an important role in this. However, the party's ideological and political work is still fraught with problems and it needs to be strengthened. Fortunately, frustrations and lessons have made us more sober-minded. We believe that under the guidance of the

spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, and as the awareness of the whole party is enhanced, the party's ideological and political work will definitely turn over a new leaf and enter a new period of development.

#### Footnotes

1. *Build Socialism With Chinese Characteristics*, pp 36-37.
2. *Selections of Important Documents Since the 3d Plenary Session*, p 22.
3. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, p 243.

#### On the So-Called 'Loss' and 'Recovery' of the May 4th Spirit of Enlightenment

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[Article by Min Ze 2404 3419]

[Text] In the "culture craze" which has occurred in recent years, the concept of national nihilism was widespread for a time, and was held in high esteem by many people in media circles. This included two aspects. One was the thorough rejection of traditional culture, and this aspect was represented by the television serial *He Shang* [River Elegy], which, with "a great sense of guilt" and in a few words, completely rejected the great cultural creations of the Chinese nation over several thousand years—the cultural creations of one of the three major cultural systems of the world, cultural creations that form a major part of world culture. The ideas represented in *He Shang* and its many factual errors have already been pointed out by scholars. I have also criticized it in two articles.<sup>1</sup> These points do not need repeating here. The other aspect was a thorough rejection of culture and literature since "May 4th." Representative of this aspect was the idea in vogue for a while of the "loss" and "recovery" of the May 4th spirit of enlightenment. According to this view, during the May 4th period, intellectuals had a vanguard position and played an enlightening role but that, following the rise of the "national salvation" movement, "saving the nation squeezed out enlightenment," leading to the "alienation" of intellectuals. Thus, the spirit of enlightenment was gradually diluted and weakened and even completely rejected, and was reduced to a "tool" for practical campaigns. As the subjects of creation had been reduced or "alienated," how was it possible to talk about culture, literature, or other spiritual creation in the ideological sphere? This period thus became a broad historical blank. Today, if we want to develop culture and literature in the new period, we need to effect a "recovery" of the May 4th spirit of enlightenment. I believe that these ideas, while appearing to be correct, are actually wrong.

#### I. On the So-Called "Loss" of the Subjective Spirit and the "Deflection of Values"

The historical facts are that, after the new May 4th cultural movement, which marked the beginning of the new democratic revolution, a large number of patriotic intellectuals who had been baptized in this movement threw themselves, in these autumn days of national crisis, into the movement to save the nation. Some of the intellectuals accepted Marxism and devoted themselves to the practice of mass social revolution. However, sharply divided opinions exist as to how we are to assess these historical facts.

One view is that the movement to save the nation and the movement of social revolution inherited and carried forward the spirit of struggle and orientation of the "May 4th" opposition to imperialism and feudalism. The result was that the Chinese nation's one-and-a-half centuries of colonial and semicolonial humiliation was ended, and a new, independent Chinese nation emerged on the world's historical stage and engaged in new socialist construction. Although our country has made many serious mistakes in socialist construction, it does represent a new stage in social development, and major achievements in material and cultural construction have been realized. The other view is that the social practice of saving the country and of social revolution led to the "loss" of the May 4th spirit of enlightenment, the loss of the intellectual's subjective spirit, and it is only in the new period that this spirit of enlightenment has been "recovered."

How should we view these divided views and principles on the major question of the May 4th spirit and orientation? Here what we touch on first is the question of the relationship between the formation and development of culture and historical development.

The formation and development of culture naturally cannot be divorced from intellectual creation. However, in any period, the motivation and basis of any cultural creation, regardless of how much individuality it involves, lies in history. The culture of any particular period has the demands of sociohistorical development as its basis and mainstay, and it is only in accordance with these demands that it can emerge and develop. Any cultural creation with real significance must be rooted in reality and accord with the demands of history. Thus, culture and cultural history, although they have an independent system and characteristics, are in the end just one aspect of social life and history. That is to say, culture and cultural development are certainly not the evolution in the objective world of various concepts, ideals, and desires in the minds of a so-called social "elite." Rather, they are the products of the practice of social life and social history. The material and spiritual products of society, as cultural forms, are not beyond the historical practice and development of society. This has already been proved by the realities of the history of

man's cultural development and it is also a basic principle of historical materialism with respect to the relationship between historical development and cultural creation as an ideology. We cannot artificially separate and place in opposition the creation and development of culture and the creation and development of history. If these are split and placed in opposition to each other, the conclusion arrived at will be that cultural development and creation are suprareal, supraphistorical, purely a priori history, the ideology of which moves and evolves independently. This is completely out of line with the realities of the development of cultural history, and at most can be considered an illusion of the mind.

Of course, we need to fully recognize the fact that historical change and even change in culture itself often require ideological enlightenment as a forerunner. However, this does not mean that the development of cultural issues can exist independently, divorced from the development of history. The situation is precisely the opposite. This can be explained from two angles. First, it seems that ideological enlightenment movements of a leading nature can occur only when society has developed to a certain stage, when there are many structural crises that seriously obstruct the historical development of society and culture, and where a historical juncture has been reached whereby if there is no change, there will be no way to continue to exist. That is to say, ideological enlightenment movements are certainly not a priori, purely conceptual products. Rather, they are the products of historical development and practice. Only by deeply manifesting the enlightening ideas required by socio-historical development will it be possible to fully manifest the spirit of the times, and will it be possible to form widespread, effective social concepts and ideologies that widely motivate people's enthusiasm and creativity to struggle for them. The Enlightenment movement during the Middle Ages in Europe was like this and the May 4th enlightenment movement in our country's modern history was also like this. Second, the realization of the enlightening ideas, the possibility of their being transformed from concept to reality, likewise cannot be divorced from the transformation and change of the social history that fostered them. Divorced from this aspect, they will be but empty dreams. Although they might be beautiful dreams, it will not be possible for them to take root, blossom, and bear fruit in real life.

This is the historical reality of the relationship between culture, cultural history, and the history of social development.

After analyzing the above-mentioned basic facts and principles, it would be best for us to have a look back at recent history, especially at the social and historical realities faced by our country since the May 4th enlightenment movement.

If we say that, because the Qing dynasty had practiced a policy of closing the country for more than a century, before the Opium War China was "in a situation of stagnation" and was "excluded from the system of world

relations" and was thus subject to "contempt" by the major powers who had long before entered the capitalist stage,<sup>2</sup> and that within the apparently peaceful feudal structure, although there existed unprecedented social and cultural crises, they had not yet shown themselves, then, following the intrusions of the imperialists and the prying open of the gates of the self-important heavenly court, China was forced to enter into the "system of world relations." However, the "historical bourgeoisie" were creating "world dealings based on mutual reliance between the whole of mankind."<sup>3</sup> In the process by which the bourgeoisie were creating a world system characterized by the market, they did not employ the principles of equality, fraternity, and humanity which they flaunted. Rather, they achieved this through bandit-style plunder, sacrificing the dignity and political and economic interests, and even the cultural achievements, of other backward nations. "When we turn our gaze from the birthplaces of bourgeois culture to the colonies, the extreme hypocrisy of bourgeois culture and its brutal nature are laid bare before us. This is because in its birthplaces, it is still clothed in a respectable guise, while in the colonies, it is completely revealed for what it is."<sup>4</sup> The history of imperialism's colonial advance is a history of blood and tears whereby oppressed and enslaved nations were thrown into extreme misery. The historical realities of our country being reduced to a colony and semicolonial not only meant that the major crises latent within society grew increasingly intense, but also that the national salvation movement became an issue of prime concern to the whole nation. After this, all of our country's cultural movements, including ideological enlightenment movements, developed with the desire as their core to resolve the national crisis and the social crises. This has also been the historical basis of the emergence and development of cultural movements in modern times, and the positive and major historical significance and contributions of such movements also lay in this.

The May 4th Movement, which marked a new stage in the modern history of our country and in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, was also like this. At that time, the 1911 revolution had taken place within the country, the feudal court which had ruled the Chinese people for several thousand years had been toppled, and people had cut off their queues. However, political events occurred such as Yuan Shikai's attempt to revive the imperial system with himself as emperor and Zhang Xun's attempt to restore the old order, and there was continuous fighting between feudal warlords in rival principalities. These events showed that, although the feudal court had been toppled, the soul and political force of feudalism were still quite major forces in the vast land of China. Meanwhile, the criminal activities of imperialists engaged in carving up China continued to escalate. This was the harsh reality faced by our country at that time. The basis and historical significance of the resounding anti-imperialist and antifeudal battle cries of the May 4th Movement, which manifested the spirit of the times, also lay in the fact that they manifested in a

centralized way the long-held historical desires and demands of the Chinese nation.

"May 4th" was undoubtedly an enlightenment movement of deep-going significance. However, the enlightenment was linked not only to the opposition to feudal obscurantism, but was also closely linked to the opposition to imperialism and the demands to save the nation and achieve national independence. Thus, the historical demands of opposition to imperialism and feudalism, that is, in their relationship with the enlightenment movement, the goals of saving the nation and changing society were not only not mutually exclusive, but actually formed a single unit. The demands of saving the nation were the demands of the enlightenment movement itself. That is to say, the cultural enlightenment movement was permeated with the intense demands of social history.

The brilliant historical significance of the May 4th Movement lies in the following: Under the new historical conditions of that time, throughout the world Marxism was daily spreading to wider spheres, the world saw the birth of the first socialist state, and Marxism was also beginning to be accepted by China's progressive intellectuals. The anti-imperialist and antifeudal demands put forward by the May 4th enlightenment movement which was initiated by a small number of progressive intellectuals, changed into a dynamic mass movement. Later, under the leadership of the CPC and through the sacrifice of blood by innumerable martyrs, the struggle against imperialism and against feudalism finally achieved great success and New China was established. These are the realities of our country's historical development subsequent to the May 4th Movement.

After the establishment of New China, no scholars within the country raised any doubts about this generally accepted historical process. However, since entering the second half of the 1980's, and especially in the last 1 or 2 years, some people have openly questioned these facts. This has included ideas such as those noted at the beginning of this article, which hold that saving the country and the quest for social change "squeezed out" enlightenment, that this was a so-called "deflection of values," that the subjectivity [zhu ti xing 0031 7555 1840] of intellectuals was "lost," and so on.

We do not sweepingly reject reexamination and reappraisal of past history, including history on which a final conclusion has been reached. If such a reexamination and reappraisal is based on a serious and truth-seeking attitude, the conclusions will be convincing, and these conclusions correct people's biases and mistaken ideas and will be able to promote historical research and development. However, the above-mentioned questioning has not had this spiritual character. It has not proceeded from a scientific attitude or from the realities of historical development, and has not provided truth-seeking elaboration. Rather, it has forced a priori concepts on history and made completely subjective suppositions.

First, looking at the question historically, the greatest real "loss" for China after "May 4th" was the loss whereby China continued to be in a humiliating colonial or semicolonial position and allowed itself to be trampled. But, it was after this that the Chinese people truly roused themselves and began to struggle, and thereby realized great achievements. This was a historical event of world significance which all the revolutionary people of China and the world warmly welcomed. This process was one that could not be divorced from the great arousal of the subjectivity of the Chinese people, including patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals. After the May 4th Movement, many patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals harbored intense zeal and, at the same time as throwing themselves into the national salvation movement and the social revolution movement, they put great efforts into activities of cultural and literary creation, and in these they realized great achievements. After "May 4th" many of the famous writers in modern and contemporary literary history, writers such as Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Ding Ling, Wen Yiduo, Lao She, Ai Qing, and even Du Pengcheng [2629 7720 4453], and so on, produced works rich in creative spirit. Is this not proof that their subjectivity was being given play? How did this result in the loss of the enlightening spirit, the "loss" of people's subjective spirit and the so-called "deflection of values"? Second, if the May 4th movement of cultural enlightenment had not been linked to the quest for national independence and dignity, and thereby had not attained great historical achievements, how would it be worthy of the name of a real, deeply significant enlightenment movement?

We must also look at another grim fact. In the historical situation whereby the whole nation was being oppressed, stripped, and enslaved, and when the whole nation had no dignity or subjectivity to speak of, from where would come the subjectivity that these intellectuals, who were elements of the national group, wanted to flaunt? It must be recognized that people are social animals who do not exist independent of the world. Even Zhuangzi and other philosophers in ancient times were still of this world. The bringing into play of an individual's dignity and subjectivity can only be based on the independence and freedom of the national group in which the individual exists. Artificial splitting of the dialectical relationship that exists between the subjectivity and dignity of the individual and the subjectivity and dignity of the nation, placing these things in opposition, excluding and looking down on the latter and single-mindedly pursuing the former is like taking the branch as the root and like looking for fish in trees. If someone sees the events subsequent to the May 4th Movement, when intellectuals threw themselves into the national liberation movement, not as the result of the demands of historical and national progress, but as a descent, and sees these people as having been "used" as so-called "tools" for historical change, then, even if we say that intellectuals are the conscience of the nation, where is this "conscience" manifested? And, in the end, how much sense of national dignity and sense of historical responsibility do these

critics, who have always seen themselves as "spiritual leaders" concerned for the country and the people, have?

Since 1949, the Chinese nation, as a part of the world's "system of relations," has no longer had to suffer oppression or allow itself to be trampled upon. Rather, it has been an independent force in the world. This is a result of the various enlightenment movements that have occurred in this vast land of China over the last 100-plus years and especially the outstanding achievements of the May 4th Movement. It has not been the result of the so-called "loss" of subjectivity or the "deflection of values."

It is very clear that the reason these critics can come to these conclusions is inseparable from their extremely self-centered concepts, which transcend the society, the nation, and history, and they have maintained this for a long time. Thus, they have come to the strange conclusion that "faced with an acute crisis of the continued existence of the nation, writers felt that it would be extremely difficult to completely combine their own demand for individual liberation with the demand for national liberation... Thus, they had no choice but to opt to give up the road of the self and to subordinate individuality to the interests of the national group, in order to expunge a feeling of guilt and unhappiness. This was the mentality of some of the writers who first declared their rejection of the individuality of "May 4th."<sup>5</sup> In the view of these critics, writers who consciously threw themselves into the national salvation movement (including some patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals) were all forced to do this. In order to "expunge a feeling of guilt and unhappiness," they "had no choice but to take the option by which they gave up the road of the individual," and this resulted in the loss of the "May 4th" spirit and in their being forced to become "tools" of history. Is not the author putting the subject of self above that of the nation and the state, proceeding from an extremely self-centered viewpoint, and is he not defaming both the intellectuals of several generations who threw themselves into the national liberation struggle and history itself? Such a view might be able to cause a "stir" among a few young people who lack historical knowledge and who are seeking so-called "individuality" and "self-realization," but it will have no market among the majority of intellectuals and the people.

## II. On the So-Called "Recovery"

These authors' so-called idea of "loss" has been detailed above, but what is involved in the so-called "recovery" idea?

They believe that the intellectuals' subjective spirit disappeared, "was lost," and had its "values deflected" for 70 years subsequent to "May 4th", but that in recent years, following "establishment of the modern yardstick of cultural values, the enlightenment spirit of intellectuals has switched from loss to recovery."<sup>6</sup> There is also much that can be debated about this idea.

First, there is the question of how to understand the enlightening spirit and the subjective spirit of intellectuals.

Above, this article noted that the subjective or enlightening spirit that these critics talk about is inseparable from the extremely self-centered ideas they hold to, ideas that transcend society, the nation, and history. This is a fact. Their statement that "the subject itself is the source of meaning and value" naturally cannot be simply denied. The problem lies in the subjectivity that they speak of, a superman subjectivity that has the exclusion of social, national, and historical existence as a precondition. They use the viewpoint of extreme individualistic subjectivity to examine society and history, and all along they have seen the demands of and sense of responsibility to the nation and society as shackles "forced on people." Thus, in their eyes, when the nation was facing the crisis of continued existence, not only was the liberation movement to save the nation superfluous, but it became the archcriminal causing individual subjectivity to be lost. The reasons for the popularity of this viewpoint are inseparable from the ideological tide formed in our society through our failure to stress socialist collective education and education in social history. This ideological tide has caused many young people to take the wrong road, one that holds that all things must have the value system of extreme self-centeredness as their core and that all things that obstruct "I" should give way. This is the historical background and social soil that produced this theory. The theory of the "loss" and "recovery" of subjectivity put forward by these critics is actually a historical development of the theory of supra-social, supra-historical, self-centered subjectivism that they put forward a few years ago and that was subject to criticism.<sup>7</sup> It is not any sort of new theoretical "discovery."

Thus, the "loss" of subjectivity that they speak of is actually the loss of the subjectivity placing the individual above the nation and above society. (However, in the past they ascribed the "loss" of this subjectivity to the "domination of mechanical materialism." Here they have developed further and taken the source back to the national liberation movement). The "recovery" of the subjectivity or spirit of enlightenment that they talk about is actually also the "recovery" of the same sort of subjectivity.

Here we cannot avoid touching on the historical assessment of the May 4th Movement itself. The May 4th Movement was initiated by progressive Chinese intellectuals at that time and the intellectuals were in a vanguard position. This is a fact. However, everybody knows that both bourgeois intellectuals and intellectuals who had accepted Marxism participated in the May 4th Movement. At that time, not only were there some intellectuals who propagated the humanism from the time of the Enlightenment in the West, but also intellectuals who propagated and disseminated Marxism. This is also a fact. However, the advocates of this type of subjective theory do not scruple to distort history and assert that

“‘May 4th’ writers and the intellectuals of that time were the first to accept the spirit of Western humanism and in various respects truly brought their vanguard role into play.”<sup>8</sup> Such comments clearly exclude Marxist intellectuals from having played a real “vanguard role” during the May 4th Movement. In this way, the May 4th Movement is portrayed as a bourgeois enlightenment movement in which the calls across the great land of China were purely calls for the Western humanist spirit, and that the bringing into play of the “vanguard role” of intellectuals involved calling for and transplanting the “Western humanist spirit.” From this conclusion and their distorted historical appraisal of the May 4th Movement, which indicated the beginning of the new democratic revolution, we can very clearly see that the subjectivity and enlightenment spirit of intellectuals that they speak of is bourgeois and individualistic. These critics go on to say: “However, this vanguard position and enlightenment role soon were gradually diluted, weakened, and even negated... The enlightenment spirit and self-realization represented by the intellectuals were also gradually lost.”<sup>9</sup> This allows people to see even more clearly that the subjectivity which they say has been “lost” and the “recovery” of which they call for in fact refers to bourgeois individual subjectivity. This is completely different from Marxism’s understanding of subjectivity. Marxism has a high degree of respect for people’s abilities and essential freedom. However, at the same time, it holds that a person “is an individual under certain historical conditions and within certain historical relationships.” Thus, their practice cannot be divorced from the social group and “it is only within the group that the individual can obtain the means by which to develop his abilities. That is to say, only within the group can there be individual freedom.”<sup>10</sup> The bringing into play of individual freedom and subjectivity is unified with the bringing into play of the freedom and subjectivity of the nation and the group. This is historical reality and the two cannot be separated. Naturally, ignoring the former is wrong. Ignoring the latter is likewise wrong. However, what these proponents of “recovery” strongly propagate is the “recovery” of a purely individualistic subjectivity that transcends the times and transcends history. What is implied by their words is that Marxism and the dynamic national liberation movement led by our party resulted in the sinking and “loss” of the individual subjective spirit. This is the real crux of what these critics are saying. The calls for “recovery” based on such an argument obviously require some study.

It should be recognized that the advocacy and propagation of the spirit of West European humanism by bourgeois intellectuals during the “May 4th” period had, at that time, a positive significance in terms of historical enlightenment. Even today, we cannot say that this has no positive role. Through the new democratic revolution, although on the political level we overturned the feudal system and the force of feudal ideas and practices, they are far from eliminated and they still play a very harmful role in our lives today. Naturally, those views

that observe this phenomenon and hold that China must again strongly develop capitalism are completely wrong. In facing the ideological vestiges and force of practice of feudalism, we cannot hold that the progressive ideals put forward during the bourgeois enlightenment period are, as far as we are concerned, completely outdated (for example, as compared to feudalism, capitalism is an advanced stage). Nor can we consider that the task of opposing feudalism put forward during the “May 4th” period has been completely realized, and need not be continued. This is a fact we cannot avoid. With respect to history and the present, we should not continue to adopt simplistic, doctrinaire attitudes. Such attitudes have resulted in our paying a heavy price and in eating much bitter fruit. We should also recognize that while socialism, in accordance with its nature, creates wide scope and prospects for the development of citizens’ subjectivity and creative spirit; in the theory and practice of our revolution and construction, the influence of “leftist” ideology resulted in many shortcomings and errors in terms of the lack of attention paid to people’s subjectivity and active creative spirit. Thus, the advocacy of subjectivity naturally cannot be simply negated.<sup>11</sup> Modern construction and its historical course basically cannot be divorced from the bringing into play of the subjectivity and active creative spirit of society. However, the subjectivity and enlightenment spirit of the intellectuals during the “May 4th” period could not be summed up as “the Western humanist spirit,” and now, in socialist New China 70 years later, to call for the “recovery” of this spirit and subjectivity must be called absurd. This is turning back the wheel of history and not promoting the advance of history. It wears the cloak of full modernization, proposes a “modern yardstick of cultural values,” and states that “after the modern yardstick of cultural values is established, the enlightenment spirit of the intellectuals will switch from decline to recovery. Initially, this recovery will be self-recovery by intellectuals.”<sup>12</sup> However, what it proposes is actually nothing more than a proposition that has already been outmoded by history. The “modern yardstick of cultural values” that they talk about and that has confused many young people is actually nothing more than extreme bourgeois self-centeredness. In socialist China’s present stage, where Marxist and socialist collective spiritual education is being rejected and overlooked, blind worship of the West has become the order of the day, the outstanding character and moral sentiments of the national culture and national spirit are widely scoffed at and derided, and extreme individualism is seeing pernicious growth, the danger and harm of advocating such subjectivity and its “recovery” becomes even more clear, and must indeed draw people’s attention.

If we lay aside the material culture aspect, and speak only in terms of the ideological aspect, intellectuals are, of course, the creative subjects of this aspect of culture. These critics see the several decades of history subsequent to the May 4th Movement as a period when intellectuals’ subjectivity was lost, their “values were deflected,” and they became “tools” of historical and

social change. As the writers became "tools" of history, they naturally "generally covered the self, lost the self, and even if they wanted to preserve the self, it was very difficult to do." Their task lay in "continually criticizing the self, negating the self, enslaving the self and trampling on the self."<sup>13</sup> In such a situation, cultural creation as the crystallization of the creative spirit of intellectuals, became just armchair theorizing. For the last few years, the idea of thoroughly negating all cultural and literary achievements since "May 4th" has become very widespread within scholarly circles, and the theoretical basis of the idea lies in the interpretation provided above.

Proceeding from this idea, they sweepingly negate the literary and artistic achievements of the following half century or so, and see this period as a historical blank. It was either complete "rule by mechanical materialism," "the earlier period of loss of direction" or "the latter period of loss of direction."<sup>14</sup> Or else it was the "alienation" of the literati, or the "consciousness of freedom changing into the consciousness of original sin."<sup>15</sup> In short, they see the period as a long wasted period of "alienation" and "loss of direction," with no real creative results to speak of. This interpretation not only completely obscures the achievements of revolutionary literature which has traveled a twisting road over several decades, but also obliterates all the artistic creation of patriotic and progressive writers. Here, these critics use the "subjectivity" of extreme self-centeredness to wipe out, with one stroke, the subjectivity and spirit of historical creation of innumerable other writers and artists. This is absolutely absurd. Apart from showing their deep-going and narrow-minded historical biases, what else can this show us?

In the last few years, all of the mistaken tendencies that have appeared in academic research have occurred with a historical background of reform and opening up, where there has been opposition to the doctrinairism characterized by "leftism" and where there have been calls for "the renewal of concepts." The critics who talk about the "loss" and "recovery" of the May 4th spirit of enlightenment are no exception. These people, who lack a sense of historical responsibility and sense of social responsibility, portray themselves as the daring vanguard and spiritual leaders in the ideological liberation movement and in opposing doctrinairism. There are also some people in the media world who vie with each other to add fuel to the flames for these people. This has produced idols and created momentum. Among the effects is deep-going incorrect value guidance. Opposition to doctrinairism, opposition to ossified, outdated concepts, the demand to "renew concepts" and so on should, under the historical conditions in China where opening up and reform are being continually deepened, be encouraged and supported. However, the problem lies in the following: What principles should be used to oppose doctrinairism? Where lie the value goals in "the renewal of concepts"? Here there clearly exist two diametrically opposed principles and attitudes. One is the stand of maintaining and developing Marxist principles and

adopting a responsible attitude with a full sense of history, sense of social and national responsibility, which involves dialectical analysis. The other is the stand of transplanting and copying the Western value concept system and, using metaphysical methods, adopting a reckless, derisive, and irresponsible attitude toward the nation, history, and the new literature of our country, thus manifesting a deep-going national nihilism. The literature of the new period should involve keen ideas and the blazing of new trails. However, this blazing of new trails cannot be done at the price of negating the characteristics of the times and the nation. These critics often consider themselves the vanguard in opening up and reform, but they are actually leading opening up, reform, and our literature off onto a side-track. The idea of "loss" and "recovery" of the May 4th spirit of enlightenment actually involves adherence to the latter of the two attitudes and value directions noted above. This is the basic reason why this problem must attract attention.

#### Footnotes

1. See Part 2—"On the Idea of Reconstruction" in "On Traditional Culture and Modernization," carried in ZHUXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH], No 4, 1989, and "Escaping from Metaphysics," WENLUN BAO, 15 June 1989.
2. "The Opium War" in *Marx and Engels on China*, p 95.
3. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol II, p 75.
4. *Ibid*, p 74.
5. Liu Zaifu: "The Loss and Recovery of the Spirit of Enlightenment of 'May 4th' Literature," WENYI BAO, 22, 29 April 1989.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Liu Zaifu: "On the Subjectivity of Literature," WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERARY REVIEW], No 6, 1985, and No 1, 1986.
8. Liu Zaifu: "The Loss and Recovery of the Spirit of Enlightenment of 'May 4th' Literature," WENYI BAO, 22, 29 April 1989.
9. *Ibid*.
10. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol I, pp 82, 84.
11. See my article "Discussing 'on the Subjectivity of Literature,'" in "Subjectivity, New Creation, and Artistic Patterns," RENMIN WENXUE CHUBANSHE, March 1988.
12. Liu Zaifu: "The Loss and Recovery of the Spirit of Enlightenment of 'May 4th' Literature," WENYI BAO, 22, 29 April 1989.
13. *Ibid*.

14. "History Cannot be Evaded," WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERARY REVIEW], No 4, 1989.

15. "The Joys and Sorrows of Several Generations of the Literati," WENYI BAO, 13 May 1989.

### Enterprise Culture and Ideological and Political Work

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[Text] Some people think of "enterprise culture" as something "imported." As a matter of fact, it can be "imported" or "indigenous." The Daqing spirit, the Yumen spirit and the Anshan spirit are all indigenous. They have their own uniqueness and dazzling qualities.

Some people think of "enterprise culture" as something that concerns cultural departments alone. As a matter of fact, it concerns not only cultural departments but also departments of management and departments handling ideological and political work. In a sense, enterprise culture has deep-rooted relations with management and ideological-political work. These ties are entwined and inseparable.

In this short article, I will attempt a brief examination of the relations between enterprise culture and ideological and political work.

First, the core of enterprise culture and the content of ideological and political work are basically identical. The development of enterprise culture constitutes an important part of the ideological development of enterprises. Enterprise culture, as it is called, refers to enterprise spirit—a unique and relatively stable kind of group mentality developed by members of enterprises in the long years of production and operation that will push forward the development of the enterprise, as well as the corresponding rules and regulations, organizational setup, and so on. Enterprise culture, as an ideological form, has enterprise spirit as its core. It attaches great importance to the role played by spiritual elements in the development of enterprises. Enterprise spirit is a noble mentality of enterprises as a whole. It is not just an ordinary idea or consciousness. Rather, it is a special kind of consciously developed will and belief, a stable, unique, and noble group mentality that will push forward the development of enterprises. In order to nurture enterprise spirit in our socialist country, we must cultivate among the staff and workers the spirit of patriotism and collectivism, a correct sense of value, healthy professional ethics, as well as the socialist style of work in production and operation. These should make up the content of enterprise culture and political-ideological work. Both tasks concern man and both take man's thoughts and consciousness as their focal point. Of course we cannot completely equate enterprise culture with ideological and political work. Some aspects of

these two concepts overlap, but others are independent and not interchangeable. Although enterprise culture attaches great importance to the role of the spirit, it cultivates enterprise spirit around the fundamental need to push forward the development of enterprises. It is merely one important aspect of ideological and political work in enterprises, not its entirety. Ideological and political work cover a much broader scope, such as carrying out education in adherence to the four cardinal principles, education in Marxist-Leninist theories, education in the party line, principles, and policies, and education in revolutionary traditions and in a revolutionary outlook on life. Hence, the former cannot replace the latter, and neither can the latter take the place of the former. Enterprise spirit is only the kernel of enterprise culture, not its entire content. Enterprise culture has a complicated structural stratification. For example, there is surface culture (such as enterprise appearance and cultural facilities), mantle culture (such as rules and regulations and organizational setup), and deep-structure culture (such as enterprise spirit and the scientific and cultural qualities of the staff and workers). The development of enterprise culture is not something that can be accomplished by a single department. It requires close cooperation and coordination among all leaders, managers, operators, and producers of enterprises as well as among all functional departments of enterprises, and has to be tackled in a comprehensive way.

Second, the nurturing of enterprise spirit is not just an important aspect of ideological and political work in enterprises; it is also an effective means of strengthening and improving ideological and political work in enterprises. As ideological work on a deeper level, its major manifestations are as follows:

It seeks to address problems at the root, not bit by bit.

For some time, ideological and political work in enterprises was a mere formality, conducted in the form of studying documents and reading newspapers. When problems cropped up, efforts were made to treat the symptoms, but not the disease. Due to our failure to grasp the crux of the problems, these efforts did not produce any real effect. In particular, ideological and political work failed to play a significant role in pushing forward the development of enterprises or to solve the fundamental problems in enterprise development. If the key link of nurturing enterprise spirit is grasped, it will be possible to give full scope to the great power of ideological and political work and to push forward fundamentally the advancement and development of enterprises. By grasping this key link, we will be able to lead the enterprises "by the halter" and inject vigor and vitality into our work. Hence, the development of enterprise culture and the nurturing of enterprise spirit mean more than the renovation of management work. They also involve the innovation and improvement of ideological and political work.

It is something real and down-to-earth, not empty politics.

Empty politics in enterprises is caused by "two separations," namely, the separation of ideological and political work from economic work and production activities, and the separation of the content of ideological education from the actual ideological level of the ordinary masses. If this is the case, nothing more than "wetting the floor" can be accomplished no matter how much emphasis we attach to ideological and political work, how loudly we publicize it, or how firmly we grasp this work. The development of enterprise culture and the nurturing of enterprise spirit will enable ideological and political work to penetrate into different links in the work of enterprises and to be organically combined with economic and management work. The development of enterprise culture also involves the organic combination of the nurturing of enterprise spirit with enterprise development and the material interests of the masses, proceeding from the actual ideological level of the majority of the people. This kind of enterprise spirit is both noble and acceptable to the masses. Enterprise culture attaches great importance to the role of the spirit, but this is done on the basis of showing concern for the material interests of the masses. This is not advocacy of the idea that the spirit is all-powerful nor is it empty theorizing. Neither does it imply "putting bonuses in command." It affirms the role of material incentives and spiritual encouragement in a realistic manner and appropriately integrates the two. Hence, it is an effective means of conducting ideological and political work in enterprises.

It involves nurture and influence, not simply inculcation.

There are two basic ways of conducting ideological and political work, namely inculcation and nurture, both of which are essential. It has been proved by experience that education in Marxism cannot do without inculcation, but sometimes the simple inculcation of ideas will affect the effects of education. In the development of enterprise culture, it is possible to gradually shape a fine group mentality through the exemplary role and influence of positive things as well as through the self-educating and self-restraining efforts of the group. On the other hand, the formation of a group mentality is a long-term, gradual process that begins with qualitative changes and sees the accumulation, bit by bit, of various positive factors. It is in conformity with the law governing developmental and orderly progress of ideological changes, not being over-eager for quick success and spoiling things with excessive enthusiasm. Without the adroit guidance of the leaders and without the conscious and voluntary efforts of the masses, a fine group mentality would be unthinkable. When the leaders and the masses are of one heart, the enthusiasm of the masses will be kindled and the centripetal force of enterprises will be enhanced through the exchange of ideas and feelings, the coordination of interpersonal relations and the improvement of material interests, thus enabling a fine enterprise culture to gradually take shape, flourish, and bear fruit.

### Chairman Mao in Northern Shaanxi

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[Article by Yang Hongli 2799 3163 4539 of the Political Department of the Beijing Military Region]

[Text] I have of late watched an impressive film called *The Great Kunlun Mountains* and read an interesting little book entitled *Mao Zedong After Stepping Down From the Altar*. In this film and book, there is an episode that I find particularly unforgettable. In those years, Mao Zedong and the headquarters staff led by him were engaged in mobile defense in northern Shaanxi against Hu Zongnan [5170 1350 0589]. The latter was directing seven brigades with a force tens of thousands of men strong in an attempt to wipe out the communist headquarters in the area. Out of their concern for the safety of their leader, people both inside and outside the party urged Mao Zedong to cross the Huang He and move east. Faced with a strong enemy, Mao Zedong upheld justice and resolutely made it clear that he would not leave northern Shaanxi unless Hu Zongnan and his men were defeated. Hence, for the soldiers and people in the war area, "Chairman Mao in Northern Shaanxi" became a powerful spiritual slogan. It still makes one today feel inspired and moved to relive this moment.

"Chairman Mao in Northern Shaanxi" reflects the comradeship and flesh-and-blood ties between the leader and the people. It reflects the style, courage, and resourcefulness demonstrated by Mao Zedong in being the first to take the interests of the whole into account and to take risks, and reflects as well the work style of Communists as people who mean what they say and who are as good as their word.

Today, we are faced with difficulties and problems in our reform and development. Of course, these difficulties and problems are nothing compared to the difficulties and obstacles encountered in the Shaanxi-Gansu border region in those war years. However, it is by no means an easy task trying to overcome the present difficulties and to tide over existing problems. It requires that the party and the people work with one heart and one mind, take the interests of the whole into account, and devote themselves heart and soul to the cause of rectification and improvement. It requires the whole country to work hard, wage an arduous struggle, and be prepared for a few years of austerity. In this respect, leadership at every level, from the central leadership down to the local authorities, bears a heavy responsibility. We may even say that the awareness, attitude, and performance of leading cadres play a decisive role here.

People often say, "Despite our lowly position, we will never cease to show concern for the country." This is no doubt correct. But then what about those in high positions? What about the "public servants" in leading positions at various levels? Have our vast number of officials charged with leadership responsibilities truly cultivated the mentality of showing concern for the

country? Have they truly shown concern for the country? In my opinion, people in high positions should take Comrade Mao Zedong as their example and examine their conscience.

First, they should ask themselves where they stand. In those years, "Chairman Mao in northern Shaanxi," leading the masses of the people in the nationwide war of liberation. In so doing, he won the support of the broad masses, united the servicemen and the people in their common struggle, and won a victory. Today, the masses have a lot of complaints about the party and the government. Some of them even distrust the party and the government. Why? Apart from the fact that we have indeed made mistakes in our work, another important reason is that the leaders have divorced themselves from the masses. There are fewer dialogues, exchanges, and attempts at understanding between the government and the masses. In order to eliminate discontent and mistrust on the part of the people, leading cadres must step out of their offices behind high walls and go among the masses.

Second, they should ask themselves whether they can set an example by their own actions. In those years, faced with the frantic attack waged by the Kuomintang troops, Mao Zedong not only called on the soldiers and the people to unite in struggle, but he remained in northern Shaanxi in an effort to pin down the strong army of Hu Zongnan and to relieve the pressure on other war zones. Such actions were more convincing and persuasive than official documents and lengthy addresses. Nowadays, some leading comrades often complain about how their repeated admonitions go unheeded, but they seldom look for the causes in their own actions. If they do not show any sincerity or take earnest action, repeated injunctions will produce no real effect. They may threaten to "kill the chicken to frighten the monkey," but they are like to find that the chicken remains unconvinced while the monkey does not even bother to look.

Third, they should ask themselves whether they are as good as their word. As the ancient saying goes: A man who goes back on his word is not to be trusted. If a person does not keep his word, he will not have the trust of the people. This has always been the case. Mao Zedong said that he would not leave northern Shaanxi unless Hu Zongnan and his men were routed. He meant what he said and kept his promise. No matter how great the difficulties and dangers involved, he never wavered or broke his promise. That was where Mao Zedong's style, personal integrity, and charm lay. If, like certain "public servants," we take no measure or action after talking about fighting corruption, continue to buy imported sedan cars by covert means despite the ban, have fancy dishes despite the rule on regular four-course meals, how can we win the trust of the people and not arouse public indignation?

The common Chinese people are the most pragmatic. They judge people not only by their word but also by their deeds. Thus, in the present difficult situation, in

order to do a truly good job of rectification and improvement and to further the reform and open policy, people in high positions must do more than just make empty statements and utter bold words.

### A Vivid Display of the Nation's Rallying Capacity—After Watching the Teleplay *Xinkou Campaign*

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[Article by Zhu Hansheng 2612 3352 3932]

[Text] The "Xinkou Campaign," which took place in Shanxi in the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, was a successful campaign fought jointly by communist and Kuomintang forces. It was an excellent example of superb tactical coordination. The Xinzhou Television Station of Shanxi Province has made a dramatized adaptation of this campaign (screenplay by Dong Yaozhang and Guo Qiuchi and directed by Bai Fujin). This teleplay not only depicts the heroic struggle of the fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, but reflects the director's profound messages and admirable artistic probe through the re-creation of this part of history.

This play reveals a serious historical materialist approach in its truthful portrayal of a campaign fought by Kuomintang troops and the 8th Route Army against the Japanese aggressors. This is where the play differs from other plays which also have revolutionary history as subject matter. This is also what gives the play a greater historical value and aesthetic significance.

The play successfully portrays the artistic images of Peng Dehuai, Zuo Quan [1563 2938], and Nie Rongzhen on our side, as well as Kuomintang generals like Yan Xishan [0917 6932 1472], Wei Lihuang [5898 4539 3552], Fu Zuoyi [0265 0155 5030], Wang Jingguo [3769 7231 0948], Hao Mengling [6787 1125 7881], and Jiang Yuzhen [1203 3768 6297]. These characters all have their distinct personality. Although the relationship among them is very complicated, it is clearly presented in a lifelike manner. Most touching is the scene depicting how Jiang Yuzhen defended Yuanping to the end and how Hao Mengling shed his blood on Plateau 204. It reveals the noble and righteous spirit of the Chinese nation, a spirit that shakes both heaven and earth and touches both god and demon.

As a play set against a great historical event during the Anti-Japanese War, in which many of the characters are real historical figures familiar to most people, the difficulties involved in its production are very great indeed. Real events and characters often tend to impose restrictions on the creative personnel and weaken the artistic expressiveness of the product. However, rather than confining himself to giving a detailed account of a particular historical event, the director of the play tried to examine the mental processes and emotional changes of the historical figures in given situations. Frontline

commander in chief Wei Lihuang, an opponent and foe of the Communist Party, was unwilling to contact the headquarters of the 8th Route Army. However, the broad-mindedness, sincerity, and initiative shown by our party, such as returning to the Shanxi-Suiyuan Army the field artillery salvaged from the Hutuo River and sending paramedics to render support, won the heart of this Kuomintang general. It is perhaps not without reason that General Wei Lihuang decided to return to the mainland for settlement after liberation.

The course of history is a dynamic process completed by living historical figures whose thoughts and feelings are constantly changing. Only by focusing the camera on the inner soul of the characters and reflecting the motivations of their inner activities and behavior can we portray convincing artistic images. To accomplish this, imagination is needed. This is also where the difference between art (including teleplays on revolutionary history) and history lies. Art is a unique form of activity that creates beauty through imagination. There is nothing factual or nonfactual about imagination itself. Following the main sequence of historical events, we can

develop the characters along the lines of their logical disposition and add the necessary details out of imagination. In this way, the web of historical events will become rich and true to life. *Xinkou Campaign* is a valuable piece of work in that it has made some useful probes in this direction and achieved its breakthrough.

*Xinkou Campaign* does not tell a historical event in a simple, straightforward way. With one end tied to the past, this play also touches on the present and the future. The practical significance of this play lies in the fact that through reviewing this period, people can do some serious rethinking. History represents the historical movement of mankind itself. On the other hand, it also represents the people's record, summary, and interpretation of their own history and their probe into the law governing historical movement. The history depicted in this play proves unmistakably that in the Chinese nation with its age-old history and cultural traditions, patriotism always demonstrates itself as a powerful centripetal force and rallying capacity at every important historical juncture. Today, it is also going to provide a powerful drive to the great cause of unifying the motherland.